

Q. HORATI FLACCI

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WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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PREFACE.

THIS edition of Horace's Odes and Epodes was undertaken at the request of the Syndics of the Pitt Press.

In the text, at a few notorious passages, I have admitted conjectures which give a good sense with very little alteration of the letters. The spelling is, for obvious reasons, adapted in the main to that of Lewis and Short's lexicon. In regard to final *-es* and *-is* in acc. plur. of the 3rd declension I have almost always followed the indications given in Keller's *Epilegomena*.

In preparing the notes, I have used Orelli's edition (as revised in 1885 by Hirschfelder) freely for illustrative quotations. It is the common quarry. Besides this, I have referred very often to the editions of A. Kiessling (1884) and Dean Wickham (1874), less frequently to those of Mr Page (1886), C. W. Nauck (1880) and H. Schütz (1874). The dates given are the dates of my copies.

I am greatly indebted to my friend Dr Postgate, of Trinity College, for many corrections and suggestions.

J. G.

NOTTINGHAM,

October, 1895.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Life of Horace.*

OUR knowledge of the life of Horace is derived chiefly from his own works, which teem with allusions to his past history and present occupations. A few minor details are supplied either by the scholiasts or by a brief biography of the poet which is found in some MSS. and which may be attributed with certainty to Suetonius (C. Suetonius Tranquillus, flor. A.D. 150).

Quintus Horatius Flaccus¹ was born on the 8th of December² B.C. 65³ at Venusia, an ancient military colony situated near Mt. Voltur and the river Aufidus, on the confines of Apulia and Lucania⁴.

Horace's father was a freedman, possibly a Greek by birth⁵.

¹ For the full name cf. *Sat.* II. 6. 37, *Carm.* IV. 6. 44, *Epod.* 15. 12.

² For the month cf. *Epist.* I. 20. 27. The day is supplied by Suetonius.

³ Horace names the year by the consul L. Manlius Torquatus, *Carm.* III. 21. 1 (*nata mecum consule Manlio*) and *Epod.* 13. 6.

⁴ For Mt. Voltur, see *Carm.* III. 4. 10. For the rest, *Carm.* IV. 9. 2 (*longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum*), *Sat.* II. 1. 34, 35 (*Lucanus an Appulus anceps | nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus*), and *Sat.* I. 6. 73 (where the Venusian boys are said to be *magnis e centurionibus orti*).

⁵ *Sat.* I. 6. 6 (*me libertino patre natum*). The foundation for the suggestion that the father was a Greek is merely (1) that he had been a

By profession, he was a tax-collector or debt-collector¹, perhaps also a dealer in salt-fish (*salsamentarius*), if Suetonius may be trusted. From small beginnings², he seems to have acquired some fortune, sufficient, at any rate, to warrant him in removing from Venusia to Rome, and devoting himself to his son's education³. To his father's fond and judicious care of him, during his school days, Horace more than once bears eloquent testimony⁴.

At Rome, Horace was put to an expensive school⁵, kept by a crusty old grammarian, L. Orbilius Pupillus, nicknamed 'the flogger.' Here he studied, among other things, the early Latin poets⁶ (such as Livius Andronicus) and the *Iliad* of Homer⁷.

From school Horace proceeded (about the age of 19, no doubt) to the university of Athens, where he attended the lectures of the Academy⁸. The course would include geometry, logic, moral philosophy and probably also rhetoric or literary criticism. In after years, Horace no longer adhered to the slave and must have been a foreigner, and (2) that Horace at an early age was sufficiently fluent in Greek to write Greek verses (*Sat.* 1. 10. 31—35). It is not known how the father acquired the name of Horatius. According to usage, Flaccus ('flap-eared') would have been his slave-name and Horatius the name of his former master. (See Diet. of Antiq. 3rd ed. s. v. *Nomen*.) The colony of Venusia was enrolled in the *tribus Horatia*, and the father may have been a slave in the service of the town.

¹ *Sat.* 1. 6. 86 (*ut fuit ipse, coactor*).

² *Sat.* 1. 6. 71 (*macro pauper agello*).

³ *Sat.* 1. 6. 71—96, esp. 81, 82 (*ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes | circum doctores aderat*).

⁴ Besides *Sat.* 1. 6, see also *Sat.* 1. 4. 105 sqq.

⁵ *Sat.* 1. 6. 76—80.

⁶ *Epist.* 11. 1. 69—71 (*non equidem insector delendave carmina Livi | esse reor, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo | Orbiliū dictare*).

⁷ *Epist.* 11. 2. 41, 42 (*Romae nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri | iratus Graīs quantum nocuisset Achilles*).

⁸ *Epist.* 11. 2. 44, 45 (*adiocere bonae paullo plus artis Athenae, | scilicet ut vellem curvo dinoscere rectum | atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum*).

Academic opinions in moral philosophy, but professed himself a free thinker inclined to Epicureanism¹.

During his stay at Athens, Horace made the acquaintance of many young Romans of noble birth², by whom apparently he was introduced, in September B.C. 44, to M. Junius Brutus³, the Liberator. Brutus, at this time, was passing through Athens on his way to the province of Macedonia which had been assigned to him (as *propraetor*) by Julius Caesar before his murder. (Cassius meanwhile was proceeding to his province, Syria.) As governor of Macedonia, Brutus was collecting an army, partly to oppose C. Antonius, who claimed the province as nominee of the senate, and partly to combat some turbulent tribes of Thracians, who were harassing the borders. In this army, Horace received the appointment of military tribune⁴. He marched with the troops through Macedonia and Thrace, crossed the Hellespont, saw a good deal of Asia Minor⁵ and returned with the combined forces of Brutus and Cassius to the field of Philippi (Nov. B.C. 42). In the first battle at this place, Brutus was victorious; in the second (twenty days later) he was defeated, and Horace fled⁶, never to bear arms again.

¹ *Epist.* I. I. 14 (*nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri*), and *Epist.* I. 4. 16 (*Epicuri de grege porcum*). Cf. also *Carm.* I. 34. 1—5.

² Some of them are named in *Sat.* I. 10. 81—87.

³ Plutarch, *Brutus*, 24.

⁴ *Sat.* I. 6. 48 (*quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno*). The statement here is doubtless an exaggeration, for there should have been six tribunes to the legion.

⁵ It is clear that Horace was at Clazomenae and saw the trial described in *Sat.* I. 7. The rest of his campaigning, before Philippi, is mere matter of inference. He speaks of Thrace in winter (e.g. *Carm.* I. 37. 20) and of the Hellespont (*Epist.* I. 3. 4) as if he had seen them, and he addresses a friend (*Carm.* II. 7. 1, 2) as '*O saepe mecum tempus in ultimum | deducte Bruto militiae duce.*'

⁶ *Carm.* II. 7. 9, 10 (*tecum Philippos et celerem fugam | sensi, relictā non bene parmula*). Cf. also *Carm.* III. 4. 26. In *Epod.* I. 16 (written ten years later than Philippi) he describes himself as *imbellis ac firmus parum*.

Soon after the battle, Horace appears to have obtained a pardon from Octavianus and leave to return to Rome. He seems to have travelled nearly all the way by sea and suffered shipwreck, or came near it, at Mons Palinurus on the Lucanian coast¹. His father was by this time dead, and when he reached Rome, he found himself penniless². It is said that he managed to procure a situation as clerk in some department of the public treasury³ and that he held this office for about four years (B.C. 41—37). Horace himself says that poverty drove him to making verses², but it is unlikely that he found poetry a source of income. More probably he had introductions to some conservative (i.e. republican) coteries, and used his literary talents to make himself welcome, in spite of his poverty. No other society would have received with favour, at that time, such denunciations of civil war as Epodes 7 and 16, two of Horace's earliest pieces.

The compositions of Horace at this period were undoubtedly either satires in the manner of Lucilius (died B.C. 103), or iambic epodes, mostly satirical, in the manner of Archilochus of Paros⁴ (flor. B.C. 700). Through these, probably, he obtained the acquaintance of L. Varius and Vergil, who became his fast friends and introduced him to Maecenas⁵. Some nine months

¹ *Carm.* III. 4. 28 and 27. 18.

² *Epist.* II. 2. 49—52. (*unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi, | decisis humilem pennis inopemque paterni | et laris et fundi paupertas impulit audax | ut versus facerem.*)

³ The authorities are Suetonius, who says *scriptum quaestorium comparavit*, and the scholiasts to *Sat.* II. 6. 36.

⁴ *Epist.* I. 19. 23—25 (*Parios ego primus iambos | ostendi Latio*). The oldest of the published works is *Sat.* I. 7, which seems to have been written in B.C. 43 or early in 42. *Epode* 16 seems to have been written on hearing the news of the capture of Perusia, B.C. 40. *Sat.* I. 2 and 4 were written before Horace became intimate with Maecenas. *Epode* 7 is assigned to B.C. 36.

⁵ *Sat.* I. 6. 54, 55 (*optimus olim | Vergilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem*).

afterwards (B.C. 38)¹ Maecenas invited him to join his circle, and Horace's fortune was made.

C. Cilnius Maecenas was now and for long afterwards the right-hand man of Octavianus in all civil affairs. He was very rich, very fond of literary society, and very generous to literary men. His patronage relieved Horace from poverty and from anxiety about his social position, while it provided the necessary stimulus to a poet who was naturally both lazy and fastidious. The subsequent life of Horace has only a few prominent incidents. In the autumn of B.C. 38 he was one of a large party who accompanied Maecenas to Brundisium². In B.C. 35 he published the first book of the Satires. Soon afterwards Maecenas gratified his dearest wish by presenting him with the small estate in the Sabine district³, to which so many loving allusions are made in Horace's works. It seems to have been his habit, at least in later years, to spend the summer and autumn here⁴, the winter at Baiae or Velia or some other seaside resort, and only the spring at Rome⁵. It is likely that Horace was present as a spectator at the battle of Actium in B.C. 31⁶. In B.C. 30 he published the second book of the Satires and, about the same time, the Epodes. About B.C. 23 he published the first three books of the Odes together.

It is obvious, in these works, that the political opinions of Horace had undergone a great change since he fought for the republic at Philippi. By B.C. 31 he had learnt to exult in the

¹ *Ibidem*, 61, 62 (*revocas nono post mense iubesque | esse in amicorum numero*). The year is fixed by *Sat.* II. 6. 40, 41, where Horace says that it is nearly eight years since *Maecenas me coepit habere suorum | in numero*. This satire was written at the end of B.C. 31.

² The journey is described in *Sat.* I. 5.

³ The fullest description is in *Epist.* I. 16. The estate lay in the valley of the Digentia, north of Tibur.

⁴ *Epist.* I. 16. 15, 16. (*hae latebrae dulces, etiam, si credis, amoenae, | incolumem tibi me praestant Septembribus horis*.)

⁵ *Epist.* I. 7. 1—12.

⁶ *Epod.* 1 and 9.

victory at Actium and to hail Caesar as the saviour of society¹. But there is no sign, even as late as B.C. 20, when the first book of Epistles was published, that Horace was intimate with the emperor. Augustus was perhaps too busy, and too often absent from Rome², to cultivate the poet's acquaintance. But the intimacy, whenever it began³, was of great importance to Horace. He yielded to Augustus what he had refused to Maecenas⁴, and resumed the writing of lyric poetry, which he had meant to abandon. Thus in B.C. 17 he wrote the *Carmen Saeculare* by command, and about B.C. 14 the odes *Carm.* IV. 4 and 14, which formed the nucleus of the fourth book. Suetonius, who tells us this, tells us also that *Epist.* II. 1 was written at the express request of Augustus, who wished his name to be connected with a composition of this class⁵.

The Fourth Book of the Odes was published about B.C. 14, the Second Book of the Epistles about B.C. 12⁶. It is observable that in these works the name of Maecenas is no longer prominent. The first Satire of the first book, the first Epode, the first Ode, the first Epistle had all been addressed to him in

¹ *Epod.* 9. *Carm.* I. 2 and 37.

² He was absent from Rome B.C. 31 to 29 and 27 to 24: was very ill in 23, and was absent again B.C. 22—19 (October).

³ *Epist.* I. 9 shows that Horace had some acquaintance with Tiberius before B.C. 20, and perhaps *Epist.* I. 13 shows as much acquaintance with Augustus.

⁴ *Epist.* I. 1.

⁵ Suetonius says, "scripta quidem eius (Augustus) usque adeo probavit mansuraque perpetuo opinatus est, ut non inodo saeculare carmen componendum iniunxerit, sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quantum addere: post sermones vero quosdam lectos nullam sui mentionem habitam ita sit questus 'irasci me tibi scito, quod non in plerisque eiusmodi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. An veteris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse?' Expressitque eclogam ad se cuius initium est: '*Cum tot sustineas,*' etc."

⁶ The date of the *Ars Poetica* is very uncertain.

grateful homage for his kindness, but there is no allusion to him in the later publications save an affectionate record of his birthday in *Carm.* IV. 11. It is known, from Tacitus (*Ann.* III. 30), that after B.C. 20 there was a coolness between Maecenas and Augustus¹. It is clear, too, from Suetonius, that Augustus made efforts to detach Horace from Maecenas, first by offering him a secretaryship, which was declined, and afterwards by encouraging him to familiarity and giving him handsome presents². One may imagine, therefore, that Horace was in an awkward and unhappy position. He was not easy with Augustus but dared not offend him, and perhaps his compliance with the emperor's commands roused some jealousy in Maecenas. But the estrangement, if there was one, between the poet and his patron did not endure. On his deathbed, Maecenas wrote to Augustus 'Horati Flacci, ut mei, memor esto.' He died early in B.C. 8, and Horace followed him to the grave in the same year, on November 27th.

Horace describes himself, in B.C. 20, as 'short, prematurely grey, fond of the sunshine, quick-tempered but easily appeased³.' Some account of his daily habits in Rome and in the country

¹ Augustus had an intrigue with Maecenas' wife, Terentia, but Tacitus does not mention this.

² The following extracts from Suetonius' life of Horace will suffice: 'Augustus epistularum quoque officium obtulit, ut hoc ad Maecenatem scripto significat: 'ante ipse sufficiebam scribendis epistulis amicorum, nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a te cupio abducere. Veniet ergo ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam, et nos in epistulis scribendis adiuvabit.' Ac ne recusanti quidem aut succensuit quicquam aut amicitiam suam ingerere desiit. Exstant epistolae e quibus argumenti gratia pauca subieci: 'sume tibi aliquid iuris apud me, tanquam si convictor mihi fueris; recte enim et non temere feceris quoniam id usus mihi tecum esse volui, si per valetudinem tuam fieri possit.'...Praeterea saepe...homuncionem lepidissimum adpellat unaque et altera liberalitate locupletavit.' Horace had, in his later years, a house at Tibur, which was still shown in Suetonius' time. This is supposed to have been presented to him by Augustus.

³ *Epist.* I. 20. 24, 25 (*corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum, | irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem*);

is given in *Sat.* I. 6 and II. 6. He suffered from dyspepsia and gout or rheumatism, which caused fits of despondency (*Epist.* I. 7 and 8). Even without this information about his health, we might easily infer from his poems that he was not a man of a hearty and energetic temperament.

Of the other Augustan poets in whom we are most interested, Horace certainly knew and loved and admired Vergil by far the best (see esp. *C.* I. 3). He was perhaps familiar with Tibullus (see *C.* I. 33 and *Epist.* I. 4), though Tibullus belonged to the literary circle of Messalla, not to that of Maecenas. He must have known and frequently met Propertius, who was another of Maecenas' *protégés*, but for some reason there was no love lost between the two men. Neither mentions the other, but, if Propertius was not the poet whose impertinence is described in *Sat.* I. 9, it is pretty clear that he was the poet whose vanity is criticised in *Epist.* II. 2. 87 sqq. (See Postgate, *Select Elegies* of Prop. p. xxxii.) Ovid, who was a friend of Propertius, once actually rebukes Horace (*A. A.* II. 271) and omits him from the list of entertaining poets (*A. A.* III. 329—340), though he pays him a tardy compliment after his death (*Trist.* IV. 10. 49).

§ 2. *Chronology of the Odes.*

It is generally believed, though it is hardly certain, that the first three books of the Odes were published together. Suetonius (*supra* p. xiv *n.*) says only that Augustus required Horace to add a fourth book long after the previous three had been published. But internal evidence is strongly in favour of the received opinion. Thus (1) the first ode of the series (I. 1) is addressed to Maecenas, the last but one (III. 29) is also addressed to Maecenas, and the last (III. 30) is a sort of *envoi*, the poet congratulating himself upon his own achievement. The first book of the Epistles is constructed on just this plan. The first letter and the last but one are addressed to Maecenas, the last is a humorous farewell, committing the book to the

world. (2) No ode in the first three Books points clearly to a later date than B.C. 24. On the other hand, there are odes in all three Books which refer to this and earlier dates. Thus III. 14 relates to the return of Augustus from Spain: I. 24 to the death of Quintilius: and I. 29 to the expedition of Aelius Gallus into Arabia. All these events happened in B.C. 24. II. 4 was written near the end of Horace's fortieth year, i.e. B.C. 25. I. 31, II. 15 and III. 6 seem all to refer to the restoration of temples which occupied Augustus in B.C. 28. It is obvious that these odes could have been published together. (3) The first Book cannot have been published before B.C. 24, for it refers, as we have just seen, to events of that year. If the second and third Books were written (in part) and published later, why does Horace, about B.C. 20 (see *Epist.* I. I. 1—10), speak as if he had long given up the practice of writing lyrics and could not resume it?

If, then, we assume that the first three Books were published together, they must have been published late in B.C. 24 or early in B.C. 23. This date is inferred from the fact that Marcellus, the nephew and adopted son of Augustus, is referred to as the hope of the Caesarian house in *Carm.* I. 12. 45—48; and Licinius Murena, brother-in-law of Maecenas, is addressed in *Carm.* II. 10 and referred to as living in III. 19. Marcellus died in the autumn of B.C. 23, and Murena was executed for conspiracy in B.C. 22. It is not likely that Horace published these references to them after their deaths.

The only other dates proposed are B.C. 19 and B.C. 22. The former date is suggested because I. 3 is supposed to refer to the voyage which Vergil took, to Greece, early in B.C. 19; and other odes, especially II. 9, are thought to refer to the expedition into Armenia of B.C. 20. The date of II. 9, however, seems to be fixed to the end of B.C. 25, or the beginning of 24, by the allusion to *tropaea Augusti Caesaris*, a grand monument so called, voted by the Senate in B.C. 25. (See the concluding note on II. 9.) As to I. 3, it is likely that this ode does not refer to Vergil's last voyage to Greece, for it says nothing about Vergil's ill-health.

The date B.C. 22 was proposed by the late Prof. Sellar because, in *Epist.* 1. 13, Horace, who was sending his odes to Augustus, directs the messenger (one Vinnius Asina) to push on over hills, rivers and bogs, as if Augustus were far away at the time. Prof. Sellar guessed that Augustus was in Sicily or Asia, whither he went in B.C. 22. It is just as likely, however, that Augustus was at Gabii, undergoing the cold-water treatment which cured him of a grave illness in B.C. 23.

(b) *The Fourth Book.* The fourth book of the Odes was beyond question written some years after the first three. The opening ode itself, the language of *Epist.* 1. 1. 1—10, and the express evidence of Suetonius (see p. xiv and *n.*) show that, after the publication of the first three Books, Horace had meant to abandon lyric composition, and only resumed it with reluctance. In the first ode, Horace describes himself as near 50 years of age. Odes 4 and 14 cannot have been written before the winter of B.C. 15, for they celebrate the grand campaign of that year in which Drusus conquered the Vindelici, Tiberius the Raeti. Ode 5 must have been written about the same time, for it complains of the long absence of Augustus, who had gone to Gaul in B.C. 16. Ode 2, perhaps, is a little later, for it was written when Augustus seemed likely to return to Rome soon. As a matter of fact, Augustus returned in July B.C. 13. It seems probable therefore that the book was published in B.C. 14 or early in 13. (On the metrical peculiarities of Book IV. see *infra* pp. xxviii, xxix and the first note to C. IV.)

§ 3. *Some Characteristics of Horace's Poetry.*

The Odes of Horace are avowedly imitations of Greek models: but there were Greek models of two quite different kinds, and Horace sometimes imitated them both at the same time. On the one hand, there were *public* odes, such as Pindar (B.C. 480) wrote—dithyrambs, pæans, songs of victory and dirges—solemn and elaborate compositions, intended to be sung by a trained chorus who danced or marched while they sang. On the other hand, there were lyrics such as Alcaeus or

Sappho or Anacreon wrote—songs intended to be sung by one person in a private circle¹.

The lyrics of Horace (though they were meant to be read or recited, not sung) belong entirely in form, and usually in substance, to the latter class. His metres are all borrowed from the Greek song-writers, and his Muse, as he often says, was inclined to be sportive (*iocosa*) rather than solemn². Even in the *Carmen Saeculare* and in *Carm.* IV. 6, which were written for public performance by a chorus, he did not attempt the grand Pindaric elaboration which, he confesses indeed (*Carm.* IV. 2. 25—32), was beyond him. Yet several of the longer and graver odes (see especially III. 3, 4, 5, II, 27, IV. 4), though still written in song-metres, are quite Pindaric in the treatment of the theme. In III. 3, for instance, the opening truism, the illustrations from many myths, the elaborate invention of Juno's compact and the brief sententious close are all clear imitations of Pindar³. The Pindaric tendency, here

¹ *Ars Poet.* 83—85. *Musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum | et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum | et iuvenum curas et libera vina referre.* Of these lines the first two refer to choral odes, and the third to songs. Lyrical poetry intended for a chorus is sometimes called *melic*.

² See *Carm.* I. 6 : II. 1. 37 and 12. 1—5, 12—16 : III. 3. 69 : IV. 2 and 15.

³ The extant odes of Pindar are all 'epinikia,' i.e. celebrations of the victories of certain persons in the great athletic contests of Greece. The following summary of the First Olympian Ode will sufficiently show Pindar's manner of treating a theme:

1—15. Water is the best drink: gold the choicest metal: so are the Olympic games the noblest games.

15—38. Let us sing the praises of Hiero, the victor, who won glory at Olympia, the home of Pelops.

38—55. Song can give currency to falsehoods, but we must not speak evil of deities.

56—85. Poseidon, of his great love, carried off Pelops. The tale that Pelops was killed and eaten is a base invention.

86—150. Because of the misdeeds of his father Tantalus, Pelops

conspicuously seen, to wander into mythology may be noticed too in many of the shorter pieces (e.g. *Carm.* 1. 7, 18: II. 4, 13: III. 17: IV. 6). It should be remembered, however, that, in an ode of Pindar, composed for a religious and patriotic festival, a fine local myth, showing forth 'the glories of our birth and state,' was especially appropriate; and that moralizing too was, in Pindar's day, as much expected of the poet as fine images and musical rhythms. He was the popular philosopher, the seer who could discern the tendencies of men's actions and could pronounce upon them with due blame or praise.

Horace derived, then, from his Greek models a certain discursiveness in his treatment of a theme. He took from them also an extreme 'abruptness' of manner, such that it is often difficult to follow the train of his thoughts (see, for instance, I. 7 or II. 2 or III. 4 or IV. 9). This abruptness is due partly to the brevity of his diction and partly to a literary convention. As the poet Gray wrote to his friend Mason, 'extreme conciseness of expression, yet pure, perspicuous and musical, is one of the great beauties of lyric poetry.' And the reason is obvious. In short lines, with a marked rhythmical beat, almost every word becomes emphatic and must deserve to be emphatic. This conciseness necessarily leads to abruptness of thought, for the conjunctions and brief explanatory phrases which, in a freer style of composition, serve to mark the connexion of ideas, are excluded from lyrics by their unemphatic character. It is a convention also, between poets and their audience, that lyrics, however elaborate, should profess to be written on the inspiration of the moment, and should therefore seem to be hurried, unpremeditated, unmethodical. They are spoilt if they become argumentative.

In real inspiration Horace was probably deficient. Certainly was sent back to earth and, by help of Poseidon, he won Hippodamia to wife in a chariot-race at Olympia.

150—160. From that time forth the glory of the Olympian races has shone abroad.

161—184. I sing the victor, Hiero, wisest and greatest of kings. Win again, Hiero, and be thou first among kings, I among poets.

his poems are not, to use Wordsworth's phrase, 'the spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling.' He himself describes them as laborious (*operosa carmina* C. IV. 2. 31). But they are sincere, that is to say, they are the genuine expression of his thoughts and sentiments; and if they do not reveal to us a man of profound insight or ardent passions or lofty imagination, they show at least sympathy, affection, humour, a generous admiration of great men and noble deeds, and a sturdy pride in his vocation. And a man with these qualities, if his vocation happens to be literature, has always been sure of a lasting success. The tact which results from his sympathy and humour appears in his style as well as in his matter, and his writings have the charm which is recognized as 'companionable.' In our own country, Addison and Lamb, in France, Montaigne and Mme. de Sévigné, are conspicuous examples of the Horatian temperament and of its enduring popularity. And Horace had the advantage of writing in verse and of using a language which gave the utmost assistance to his special literary talent. 'The best words in the best places' is a definition of poetry that Coleridge was fond of repeating. It might serve for a description of Horace's writing. He was gifted by nature with a fine ear and an infinite capacity for taking pains, and he had had a scholarly education. He borrowed, from Greek, metres of peculiar swing, and he had, in his native Latin, a store of sonorous and pregnant words, a terse and lucid grammar, and the liberty to arrange his words to the best advantage. With these resources, he has produced an incomparable series of brilliant phrases ('jewels five words long' Tennyson calls them) which are at once easy to remember and impossible to translate¹.

¹ It is idle to quote instances where almost every line is an instance, but one might choose *simplex munditiis* or *insaniens sapientia* or *splendide mendax* as examples of Horace's untranslatable brevity: *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* or *nihil est ab omni parte beatum* as examples of finished commonplace: *non indecoro pulvere sordidos* or *intaminatis fulget honoribus* or *impavidum ferient ruinae* as specimens of sonority, and *qui fragilem truci commisit pelago ratem* as an instance of the artful arrangement of contrasted words.

To a writer with this faculty, it matters little that his ideas are scanty and commonplace. His readers have the less trouble in understanding him and agreeing with him, and can surrender themselves to the charm of his diction. It is because we all find in Horace 'what oft was thought but ne'er so well express'd' that he has been used, for so many ages, as the indispensable model of literary excellence.

§ 4. *Some Characteristics of Horace's Latinity.*

Horace's Latin is a good deal affected by the conciseness which, as we have just said (p. xx) was demanded by the perpetually recurring emphases of lyric poetry. For the sake of brevity he often used expressions which may be called 'short cuts,' intended to avoid unemphatic prepositions and conjunctions, and to bring important words closer together. The most striking instances of this practice are his use of the genitive case and of the infinitive mood. His freedom in the use of these constructions was undoubtedly imitated from the Greek, though it is not always possible to produce a Greek parallel for every Horatian instance.

1. The following are examples, in the Odes, of unusual genitives: *diva potens Cypri* (I. 3. 1), *agrestium regnavit populorum* (III. 30. 11), *desine querelarum* (III. 9. 17, 18), *abstineto irarum* (III. 27. 69, 70), *integer vitae scelerisque purus* (I. 22. 1), *patriae exul* (II. 16. 19), *prosperam frugum* (IV. 6. 39), *fertilis frugum* (Carm. Saec. 29), *secunda culpa* (III. 6. 17), *pauper aquae* (IV. 4. 58), *dives artium* (IV. 8. 5), *docilis modorum* (IV. 6. 43), probably also *notus animi paterni* (II. 2. 6, though these words need not be construed together)¹.

2. The infinitive mood is often used by Horace, as it is often used in Greek, where in prose a final or a consecutive

¹ The Greek constructions imitated are such as βασιλεύειν Πόλου, λήγειν δαιδῆς, ἀγρὸς αἵματος, φυγὰς Ἀργεῖος, πλοῦσιος χρυσοῦ, μαθητικὸς μουσικῆς, θαυμάζειν τινὰ τοῦ νοῦ.

clause (with *ut* and the subj.) would be required¹. Some of the instances in Horace (e.g. *certat tollere* in I. 1. 6, or *gaudet posuisse* I. 34. 16, or *tendentes imposuisse* III. 4. 52) can be paralleled in prose, but the following are extremely bold: *pecus egit visere* (I. 2. 8), *coniurata rumpere* and *furit reperire* (I. 15. 7 and 27), *te persequor frangere* (I. 23. 10), *tradam ventis portare* (I. 26. 3), *laborat trepidare* (II. 3. 11), *urges summovere* (II. 18. 21), *dedit spernere* (II. 16. 39), *impulerit maturare necem* (III. 7. 14—16), *me expetit urere* (Epod. 11. 5).

The infinitive is similarly used with adjectives to suggest a purpose or consequence, or to limit the aspect of the epithet²: as *indocilis pati* (I. 1. 18), *callidus condere* (I. 10. 7), *blandus ducere* I. 12. 11, 12), *praesens tollere* and *dolosus ferre* (I. 35. 2 and 28), *leviora tolli* (II. 4. 11), *pertinax ludere* (III. 29. 53), *efficax eluere* (IV. 12. 20), *veraces cecinisse* (Carm. Saec. 25), *lubricus aspici* (I. 19. 8), *niveus videri* (IV. 2. 59), *nefas videre* (Epod. 16. 14), *nobilis superare* (I. 12. 26), and *dolens vinci* (IV. 4. 62.)

It is obvious that, in many of these instances, a gerund with or without a preposition might have been used. Horace, however, regards the infinitive (in the Greek way) as an indeclinable noun.

These constructions, though found in other Latin poets, are specially characteristic of Horace; but, besides these, he has many other and more common devices to procure that perpetual quaintness which, as Aristotle said, is essential to poetical diction.

3. With adjectives, he is partial to a kind of *hypallage*

¹ The Greek constructions imitated are such as ἀνὴρ χαλεπὸς συζῆν, παρέχω ἑμαυτὸν τῷ ἰατρῷ τέμνειν, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, λευκὸς ὀρᾶσθαι.

² In the instances above cited, grammarians would call some of the infinitives *prolate* or *complementary*, others *epexegetical* or *explanatory*. The difference between the two kinds is briefly this: the prolate infin. is necessary to limit the meaning of the preceding verb or adjective, while the epexegetical infin. is merely illustrative of the meaning. E.g. *celer irasci* means 'quick to anger,' not 'quick at everything, anger included,' whereas *blandus ducere quercus* does mean 'persuasive to everything, oaks included.'

(i.e. 'inversion of relations'), whereby an epithet is transferred from the producer to the thing produced or vice versa.

Of the first case, *iracunda fulmina* (I. 3. 40), *dementes ruinas* (I. 37. 7), *iratos apices* (III. 21. 19), *invido flatu* (IV. 5. 9), are good enough examples. Instances of the second case are more interesting, because here the meaning of the adjective is somewhat affected. Thus *nigri venti* (I. 5. 7) means, in effect, 'blackening winds,' and *albus* (I. 7. 15) or *candidus* (III. 7. 1), applied to a wind, means 'clearing,' 'brightening.' Similar examples are *palma nobilis* (I. 1. 5), *decorae palaestrae* (I. 10. 4), *insigni Camena* (I. 12. 39), *inaequales procellae* (II. 9. 3), *informes hiemes* (II. 10. 5).

Horace is somewhat free in his use of adjectives in *-bilis* or *-ilis*. Thus *flebilis* (I. 24. 9), *amabilis* (II. 9. 13), *docilis* (III. 11. 1 and IV. 6. 43), are equivalent to *defletus*, *amatus*, *doctus*. On the other hand, passive participles, such as *irruptus* (I. 13. 18), *indomitus* (II. 14. 2), *intaminatus* (III. 2. 18), often supply the place of an adjective in *-bilis*.

4. The neuter sing. of an adjective is sometimes used as an adverb: as *dulce ridentem* (I. 22. 23), *lucidum fulgentes* (II. 12. 14), *perfidum ridens* (III. 27. 67), *turbidum laetatur* (II. 19. 6).

5. A few words not used elsewhere (*ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*) occur in the Odes. Such are *inaudax* (III. 20. 3), *exultim* (III. 11. 10), *immetatus* (III. 24. 12), *Faustitas* (IV. 5. 18), *inemori* (Epod. 5. 34).

6. The dative case is many times used for *in* with accus. after a verb of sending: e.g. *terris misit* (I. 2. 1), *mittes lucis* (I. 12. 60), *compulerit gregi* (I. 24. 18), *caelo tuleris* (III. 23. 1), and a similar use may be suspected elsewhere (e.g. C. II. 7. 16, IV. 1. 7).

7. Of strange ablatives *Cecropio cothurno* in II. 1. 12 and *coniuge barbara* in III. 5. 5 are conspicuous instances. Abl. of the agent without *ab* occurs perhaps in I. 6. 1 (where see note).

8. Certain oddities in the arrangement of words may also be noticed.

(a) An epithet, really qualifying two words, is often put with the second only. E.g. in I. 2. 1 *nivis atque dirae grandinis*: 5. 5 *fidem mutatosque deos*: also I. 31. 16: 34. 8: II. 8. 3: 19. 24: III. 2. 16: II. 39: IV. 14. 4

(b) Similarly, a verb, which belongs to both parts of a compound sentence, is often inserted in the second part with *-que* or *-ve*: e.g. I. 30. 6 *Gratiae properentque nymphae*: II. 7. 24 *apio curatve myrto*. Also II. 17. 16: 19. 28, 31: III. 4. 12: *Carm. Saec.* 22.

(c) Sentences in which a word may be constructed with either of two other words—the so-called construction ἀπὸ κοινού or ‘in common’—are frequent. A striking instance is in II. 18. 37 *hic levare functum | pauperem laboribus | vocatus atque non vocatus audit*. Here *laboribus* is appropriate to *levare* and to *functum*: and *levare* is appropriate to *vocatus* and to *audit*. So in II. 11. 11 *consiliis* may be constructed with *minorem* and *fatigas*: and in III. 8. 19 *sibi* with *infestus* or *dissidet*.

On the whole, one is glad to find that Quintilian, the greatest teacher of rhetoric in Rome, about 100 years after Horace’s time, found Horace difficult. He says (*Inst. Or.* 1. 8. 6) ‘Horatium nolim in quibusdam interpretari.’

§ 5. *Metres of the Odes.*

The first eleven odes of the 1st Book comprise examples of nearly all the metres used by Horace in the Odes. The only novelties introduced in later books are the Hipponactic stanza of II. 18, the Archilochian of IV. 7 and the Ionic of III. 12.

Metre, in Latin and Greek, is the arrangement of long and short syllables in a line of poetry.

Rhythm is the arrangement of stresses (*ictus*) or loud syllables. In other words, metre is the mode of constructing a line: rhythm is the mode of reading or singing it¹.

For purposes of metre, all long syllables are alike, and all short syllables are alike: but for purposes of rhythm (as in music) long syllables may be of different lengths, and short syllables may be of different lengths.

¹ In English metre and rhythm are identical, for with us a syllable which has stress is long, and a syllable which has no stress is short.

In Horace's Odes, we know the metres, but we do not know the rhythms. In other words we do not know how Horace himself would have read and scanned his lines. For instance, the First Ode of the First Book consists of lines of this metre:

— — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡. But the lines may be scanned and read in several different ways: thus

- (1) Maéce | nás ata | vís | édite | régi | bú.
- (2) Maéce | nás atavis | édite reg | ibús.
- (3) Maéce | nás ata | vís | édite | régibus.
- (4) Maécenas at | avís edi | te régibus.

Of these methods, the first represents the original Greek rhythm: the second, the scansion which was adopted by grammarians nearly contemporary with Horace: the third, a possible scansion which occurs naturally to an English reader: the fourth is an old-fashioned method which is seldom mentioned now, but which has some merits.

That Horace usually employed the second method, is rendered probable by such lines as

exegi monumentum aere perennius (III. 30. 1)
or *perrupit Acheronta Hercules labor* (I. 3. 36):

still more by such a line as

dum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula (II. 12. 25).

These instances suggest that there was not such a pause on the sixth syllable as is required by the first method or the third.

But it would seem that, in this matter of 'pause,' Horace was not likely to be consistent. Witness his treatment of *synapheia*.

Synapheia is the 'connexion' of line with line, so that (among other effects) a syllable liable to elision may not conclude a line if the next line begins with a vowel. Horace, as a rule, follows the Greek lyrists in maintaining *synapheia*, and several times elides a concluding syllable before a vowel at the beginning of the next line, or divides a word between two lines. See, for elision, II. 2. 11 : 3. 27 : 16. 34 : III. 29. 35 : IV. 1. 35 : 2. 22 and 23 : *Carm. Saec.* 47 : and, for division, I. 2. 19 : 25. 11 : II. 16. 7. But in I. 2. 41 and 47 : I. 8. 3 : I. 12. 6 and 7, and many

other places, synapheia is ignored and hiatus permitted. Hiatus, of course, implies a slight pause, while synapheia implies that there was no pause between two lines.

For reasons such as these, it is impossible to put forward an authoritative scansion to Horace's lines. In the metrical schemes here subjoined no scansion will be suggested, but the original (i.e. the Greek) rhythm will be given in musical notation according to the theories of Dr J. H. H. Schmidt¹. It will be seen that Dr Schmidt divides a line into bars of equal length, i.e. occupying the same time in delivery.

In the metrical schemes, a comma marks the caesura or diaeresis, i.e. the point which must coincide with the end of a word².

It remains to be added that all the odes of Horace seem to be divisible into stanzas of four lines. The only exceptions are IV. 8, which there are many reasons for rejecting in whole or in part: and III. 12, which consists of four periods of ten feet each. The metres were undoubtedly borrowed by Horace from the Greek lyrists, especially Alcaeus, but he has introduced many small alterations, such as the use of long syllables where the Greeks allowed shorts, and the regular use of caesura where the Greeks had none.

1. The **Alcaic** stanza is used in 37 odes, viz.:

I. 9. 16. 17. 26. 27. 29. 31. 34. 35. 37.

II. 1. 3. 5. 7. 9. 11. 13. 14. 15. 17. 19. 20.

III. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 17. 21. 23. 26. 29.

IV. 4. 9. 14. 15.

¹ *Rhythmic and Metric of the Classical Languages*, translated by Dr J. W. White.

² Technically, *caesura* is the division of a foot between two words, so that part of the foot belongs to one word, the remainder to another. *Diaeresis*, on the other hand, is the division of feet from one another so that one foot ends with a word, while the next begins a new word. Thus, in the bucolic hexameter, there is caesura in the third foot and diaeresis between the fourth and fifth: as

Nos patri | ae fi | nes et | dulcia | linquimus | arva.

The metrical scheme is :

1, 2. $\times - \cup - - , - \cup \cup - \cup \cup$ (eleven syllables).

3. $\times - \cup - - - \cup - \cup$ (nine syllables).

4. $- \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - \cup$ (ten syllables).

The first two lines begin with a short syllable only 18 times (out of 634 examples)¹.

The diaeresis (which was not used by the Greeks) after the fifth syllable is neglected in 1. 16. 21 : 37. 5 : 37. 14 : 11. 17. 21 : 14. 14. 17. Elision occurs at the diaeresis in 111. 1. 5 : 4. 49. The fifth syllable is short in 111. 5. 17 : and possibly 111. 23. 18.

In the third line, the first syllable is short only 10 times in 317 examples. The fifth syllable is, in Horace, always long, though in Alcaeus it appears to have been always short. A most important rule in the construction of this line is that it shall not end with two dissyllabic words. Such an ending occurs only 8 times, viz. 1. 16. 4 : 26. 7 : 29. 11 : 11. 1. 11 : 13. 27 : 14. 11 : 19. 7 : 19. 11 : and in 5 of these eight instances, the first dissyllable is repeated at the beginning of the next line (e.g. 11. 13. 27 *dura navis | dura fugae mala*).

In the fourth line, there is usually caesura after the fourth syllable, but the main rule is that the line shall not begin with two trisyllabic words (e.g. *tristia tempora*).

Synapheia of the third and fourth lines occurs in 11. 3. 27 : 111. 29. 35, but is conspicuously neglected in 1. 16. 27 : 17. 13 : 11. 13. 7. Yet, on the whole, synapheia is usually respected. 'An Alcaic line does not often end with a short vowel, even when the next line begins with a consonant.' (Ramsay, *Latin Prosody*, p. 212.)

The original rhythm, according to Dr Schmidt, was :

1, 2. 

3. 

4. 

¹ In the IVth Book, the opening syllable is always long.

This rhythm is trochaic, with an *anacrusis* (or 'striking-up' syllable) at the beginning of lines 1, 2, 3.

2. The **Sapphic** stanza is used in 25 odes, viz.:

I. 2. 10. 12. 20. 22. 25. 30. 32. 38.

II. 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 16.

III. 8. 11. 14. 18. 20. 22. 27.

IV. 2. 6. 11 and *Carmen Saeculare*.

The stanza seems to have been invented by Alcaeus, though it is named after Sappho. The metrical scheme is:

1, 2, 3. — ◡ — — —, ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ (eleven syllables).

4. — ◡ ◡ — ◡ (five syllables).

The longer line is called *the lesser Sapphic*: the shorter the *Adonius*.

In the longer line Horace always has the fourth syllable long, whereas Sappho (and Catullus) often had it short.

Horace has also introduced a caesura, which was not used by Sappho. This caesura, in the first three Books, generally occurs after the 5th syllable, and only occasionally after the 6th (e.g. I. 10. 1, 6, 18), but in the fourth Book and *Carm. Saec.* it is very frequently placed after the 6th syllable (in fact, 39 times in only four compositions).

Synapheia is obviously respected between the 2nd and 3rd lines in II. 2. 18: 16. 34: IV. 2. 22; where final syllables are elided: and between the 3rd and 4th lines in I. 2. 19: 25. 11: II. 16. 7: IV. 2. 23: *Carm. Saec.* 47, where either a word is divided (as in the first three passages) or a syllable elided (as in the last two).

Yet hiatus between the lines frequently occurs, as in I. 2. 41 and 47: 12. 6 and 7 etc.

The original rhythm, according to Dr Schmidt, was trochaic and may be represented thus:

I, 2, 3. 

4. 

3. A stanza called the *Greater Sapphic* is used in l. 8. It consists of couplets of the following form:

1, 3. - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∩.

2, 4 - ∪ - - -, ∪ ∪ -, - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - x.

It will be seen that the first line is longer by two syllables than the Adonius, and the second line is longer by four (— ∪ ∪ —) than the lesser Sapphic.

The original rhythm is said to be:

1, 3. 

2, 4 

4. The metres called **Asclepiad** are founded on the following lines:

(a) ---vv---, -vv-vx ('lesser Asclepiad').

(b) --- ∪ ∪ -, - ∪ ∪ -, - ∪ ∪ - ∪ × ('greater Asclepiad').

(c) ---vv--v x ("Glyconic").

(d) --- ∪ ∪ --- ('Pherecratic').

In the Lesser Asclepiad, the caesura is neglected in II. 12. 25 and IV. 8. 17. A short syllable is lengthened at the caesura in I. 13. 6; III. 16. 26.

In the Greater Asclepiad there are two caesuras, but the second is neglected in l. 18. 16.

In the Glyconic, the second syllable is perhaps short in 1. 15.
24 and 36.

These lines are combined by Horace into four-line stanzas of different kinds thus:

(A) The *First Asclepiad* stanza employs (a) alone. See I. I, III. 30, IV. 8.


(B) The *Second Asclepiad* has (b) alone. See I. 11 and 18: IV. 10.

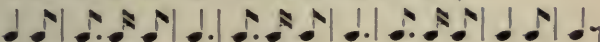
(C) The *Third Asclepiad* has couplets of (a) and (c).
See I. 3. 13. 19. 36. III. 9. 15. 19. 24. 25. 28. IV. 1. 3.


(D) The *Fourth Asclepiad* has (a) thrice repeated, followed by (c). See I. 6. 15. 24. 33. II. 12. III. 10. 16. IV. 5. 12.

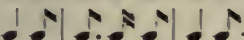
(E) The *Fifth Asclepiad* has (a) twice repeated, then (d), then (c). See I. 5. 14. 21. 23. III. 7. 13. IV. 13.

The original rhythms are said to be:

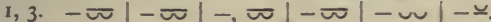
(a) 

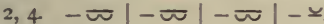
(b) 

(c) 

(d) 



5. The *Alcmanian* stanza is used in I. 7 and 28, and in Epode 12. It consists of couplets made up of an ordinary dactylic hexameter, followed by a dactylic tetrameter.

1, 3. 

2, 4. 

In the second line, there is usually a caesura in the second or third dactyl.

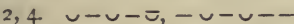
The rhythm is really dactylic, i.e. each dactyl is of the value

 and each spondee of the value .



6. The other metres used in the Odes are exhibited only in single specimens, which are treated in the notes as they severally occur (see II. 18. III. 12. IV. 7). But the metre of I. 4 may be specially noticed here.

It is called the *Fourth Archilochian*, and consists of a four-line stanza in which the lines are arranged as follows:

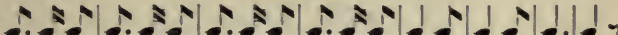
1, 3. 

2, 4. 

The first line is called 'the greater Archilochian': the second is an 'iambic trimeter catalectic'¹.

This combination is so curious that Dr Schmidt thinks that Horace must have read the dactyls as , not as , so that the rhythm becomes trochaic, thus:

1, 3.



2, 4.



¹ A 'catalectic,' or 'stopping' line, is one which comes to an end in the middle of a foot.

§ 6. *Order of the Odes.*

Though there is some reason to suspect slight interpolations in the Odes (see below, p. xxxiv), there is no reason for doubting that the present arrangement of the poems is substantially that of Horace himself. But the order is clearly not chronological: e.g. I. 24 was written in B.C. 24, while III. 1—6 were written in B.C. 27. Nor are poems of one kind, either in subject or metre, placed together, for (e.g.) political poems and Alcaic odes occur in all parts of the collection.

But we can often discern special reasons for placing single odes or groups of odes in particular places. Thus I. 1, II. 20, III. 29 and 30, IV. 1, are obviously appropriate to their places: the six great odes at the beginning of Book III. form a definite cycle, and it is not an accident that the first nine odes of Book I. are specimens of nearly all the metres that Horace attempted, or that the first three odes are addressed to Maecenas, Augustus and Vergil.

In regard to the bulk of the poems, however, it is likely that Horace deliberately threw them into some confusion in order to favour that appearance of inspiration and unpremeditatedness which, as was noticed above (p. xx), was one of the conventions of lyrical composition. His Muse, he would have us believe, was a whimsical lady, but we may say of her, as Congreve said of Fair Amoret,

“Careless she is with artful care,
Affecting to seem unaffected.”

|| One noticeable device for securing this effect was to place in juxtaposition odes written in different moods, the grave with the gay, the lively with the severe (e.g. I. 12 and 13, 24 and 25, 37 and 38: II. 3 and 4: III. 6 and 7). Another is to pretend that the casual thought of one ode suggested the whole theme of the next, as the mention of Fortune in I. 34 suggests I. 35, and the mention of a holiday in III. 17 suggests III. 18. Contrasts of subject too are not infrequent, as where in II. 6 and 7 the quiet

stay-at-home life of Horace gives extra point to his welcome of the wanderer Pompeius: and in III. 23 and 24 the praise of simple piety leads up to a denunciation of wealth.

§ 7. *The Text.*

Horace's works, as he himself prophesied (*Epist.* I. 20. 17, 18), soon became one of the regular Roman schoolbooks. They were so in the time of Quintilian and Juvenal (say A.D. 100), and remained so in the time of Ausonius (say A.D. 380). Vergil, too, shared the same fate (see Mayor's note on Juvenal VII. 227). But while of Vergil we have several MSS. complete or fragmentary, which date from a very high antiquity (earlier than A.D. 500), we have only one of Horace which is as old as the 9th century. Most of the extant MSS. of Horace were written in the 10th century or later.

Moreover, no extant MS. of Horace seems to have been written in Italy. The oldest, called B (*Bernensis*, of the 9th century), is a fragmentary copy written in Ireland. The others appear to have been all written in France or Germany after that revival of schools and of literary studies which Charlemagne introduced with the assistance of Alcuin of York (about A.D. 820). There is evidence that Horace was well known to some students at this time, though many years must have elapsed before the reading of profane poets was permitted in the cathedral schools of the German Empire. At Paderborn, for instance, it was not till after A.D. 1000 that it could be said '*viguit Horatius, magnus et Virgilius, Crispus ac Salustius et Urbanus Statius.*' (See Maitland's *Dark Ages*, Nos. XI. and VIII. and *Class. Review* 1894, p. 305.)

Of the extant MSS., other than B, the chief are Αφψλπ, all now at Paris: δ and d, both in the British Museum: R, now in the Vatican (though it was written in Alsace): l at Leyden: α at Milan: ν at Dessau. All these, with some others, are assigned to the 10th century, and there are many more of later date.

Most of the oldest MSS. have been inspected by more than one editor, but the fullest collation will be found in the editions of O. Keller and A. Holder (see esp. their *editio minor* of 1879).

The text of Horace presented in these MSS. is not in a satisfactory state: that is to say, it leaves grave doubt, in very many places, as to what Horace really wrote. Apart from the numerous passages where we have two alternative readings, both good (see next page), there are places where there are alternatives both bad (e.g. III. 4. 10 *limen Apuliae*, or III. 24. 4 *mare Apulicum*, or Epod. 9. 17 *ad hunc*), and places where the MSS. are agreed but the reading can hardly be sound (e.g. I. 20. 10 *bibes*, I. 23. 5 *veris adventus*, II. 2. 2 *inimice*, III. 26. 7 *arcus*, IV. 2. 49 *teque*). And there are many places, too, where interpolation may reasonably be suspected: such as I. 31. 13—16, III. 11. 17—20, and IV. 8 (either the whole or part). In this matter it should be remembered that epigrams were interpolated in Martial's works in his own life-time (as he himself complains, e.g. I. 54, X. 100), and that Horace, being a schoolbook, was especially liable to interpolation. A good schoolmaster, for instance, in commenting on Horace's style, would doubtless compose a stanza now and again, to show the trick of it, and some of these imitations, written in the margin of the text, with other notes for lessons, might easily pass into the text itself¹.

The question, however, whether a certain stanza is interpolated, or a certain reading is good enough for Horace, must always remain open, unless some more authoritative MS. is discovered. But the existing MSS. undoubtedly prove that the text of Horace was, in very ancient times, doubtful, and was emended by good scholars. A considerable number of our

¹ It is observable, here, that in the Appendix on prosody to the *Ars Grammatica* of Diomedes, a grammarian of the 4th century, only 35 Odes are ascribed to Bk. I. (omitting 22, 25, 35): only 19 to Bk. II. (omitting 16), and only 25 to Bk. III. The Harleian MS. No. 2724, in the British Museum, has at the end some Sapphics beginning

Flante cum terram Zephyro solutam
Floribus vestit redimita terra.

MSS. contain, at the end of the Epodes, the following *subscriptio* :

Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius v.c. et inl. (vir consularis et inlustris) *ex coñ. doñ.* (ex comite domestico) *ex coñs. oñd.* (ex consule ordinario) *legi et ut potui emendavi conferente mihi Magistro Felice oratore urbis Romae.*

This Mavortius was consul A.D. 527, and probably edited both the odes and the epodes. Unfortunately, it is not possible to restore his edition even from the MSS. which bear his *subscriptio*, for these MSS. differ from one another at most of the crucial points. But it is plain that our copies are descended from two editions of Horace, that of Mavortius for one, and another of which we do not know the origin. These editions differed from one another in a great number of single words: e.g.

- | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|----|--------------------------------|
| <i>Carminum</i> , I. | 4. | 8 | <i>visit, urit.</i> |
| | 18. | 5 | <i>increpat, crepat.</i> |
| | 27. | 13 | <i>voluptas, voluntas.</i> |
| | 28. | 15 | <i>mors, nox.</i> |
| | 32. | 1 | <i>poscimus, poscimur.</i> |
| | 35. | 17 | <i>sæva, serva.</i> |
| II. | 3. | 28 | <i>exitium, exilium.</i> |
| | 13. | 8 | <i>laborem, laborum.</i> |
| | 20. | 13 | <i>ocior, notior.</i> |
| III. | 3. | 34 | <i>ducere, discere.</i> |
| | 5. | 37 | <i>aptius, inscius.</i> |
| | 8. | 27 | <i>rape, cape.</i> |
| | 14. | 6 | <i>divis, sacris.</i> |
| | 15. | 2 | <i>fige, pone.</i> |
| | 19. | 27 | <i>Rhode, Chloc.</i> |
| | 23. | 19 | <i>mollivit, mollibit.</i> |
| | 27. | 48 | <i>monstri, tauri.</i> |
| | 29. | 34 | <i>aequore, alveo.</i> |
| IV. | 2. | 58 | <i>ortum, orbem.</i> |
| | 4. | 36 | <i>dedecorant, indecorant.</i> |
| | 7. | 17 | <i>vitae, summae.</i> |
| | 13. | 14 | <i>cari, clari.</i> |
| | 14. | 28 | <i>meditatur, minitatur.</i> |

<i>Epodon,</i>	2. 25	<i>ripis, rivis.</i>
	5. 15	<i>implicata, illigata.</i>
	5. 58	<i>suburanae, suburbanae.</i>
	16. 61	<i>astri, austri.</i>
	17. 11	<i>unxere, luxere.</i>
	17. 64	<i>laboribus, doloribus.</i>
<i>Carmen Saeculare,</i>	23	<i>totiens, totidem.</i>
	65	<i>arces, aras.</i>

In these instances (and many more might have been given) there is usually little to be said in favour of one reading and against the other, and the MSS. are very fairly divided between the two. But the MSS. which agree in one reading do not agree in the next, and very often indeed both readings together are recorded in the same MS.

One or two examples will illustrate the extreme perplexity of the authorities. In C. I. 2. 18 the absurd reading *jactat velorum* (for *ultorem*) appears in seven MSS. $\phi\psi\lambda\delta\pi$. It would naturally be supposed that these MSS. were derived from one source, but in I. 4. 8, $\lambda\pi$ read *urit* while $\phi\psi\delta\pi$ read *visit* (which λ also record as a variant). In I. 9. 6 $\phi\psi\delta\pi$ have the absurd reading *largiri potis* for *large reponens*, but in 8. 2 $\delta\pi$ have *hoc deos oro*, while $\phi\psi$ have *te deos oro*. Again, only three MSS. $\lambda\mu$ omit the line I. 5. 13, but 12. 26, which is also omitted in λ , is not omitted in μ , but is omitted in $\delta\pi L$. One is perpetually baffled by difficulties of this kind in attempting to trace the history and connexions of our MSS. It would seem that the monks, who wrote our copies, had more than one text before them, or one text smothered with notes and corrections, and as most of the copies were made about the same time, it is impossible to distinguish two or three of them as being the source, or as representing the source, of all the rest.

A very large body of marginal notes or *scholia* on Horace has come down to us. They are in the main derived from two commentaries on Horace, written by Pomponius Porphyryon and Helenius Acron. Porphyryon appears to have lived about A.D. 200, and Acron still earlier, for he is cited (on *Sat.* I. 8. 25) by Porphyryon. But the notes which we now have under the

name of Acron were evidently put together by a writer who lived some time after the Roman Empire had adopted Christianity. These *scholia* are not of much assistance in the attempt to restore the words of Horace himself. Often they do not comment on the words in dispute and, when they do, Porphyrio often supports one reading, Acron the other. Sometimes, too, one reading is quoted as a heading to a note while the note itself explains the other. No editor has at present found the clue to all this tangle. Messrs Keller and Holder, who have examined far more MSS. than anybody else, have divided them into three classes, but the grounds on which they base this division are most unsatisfactory.

The chief editions of the text of Horace during the last 350 years are those of M. A. Muretus (Venice, 1551), D. Lambinus (Lyons, 1561), J. Cruquius (Antwerp, 1578), D. Heinsius (Leyden, 1605), T. Faber (Saumur, 1671), R. Bentley (Cambridge, 1711), C. Fea (Rome, 1811), F. Pottier (Paris, 1823), A. Meineke (Berlin, 1834), P. H. Peerlkamp (Haarlem, 1834), J. C. Orelli (Zurich, 1837), W. Dillenburger (Bonn, 1844), F. Ritter (Leipzig, 1856), K. Lehrs (Leipzig, 1859), H. A. J. Munro (Cambridge, 1869), O. Keller and A. Holder (ed. major, Leipzig, 1864—1870 and ed. minor, Leipzig, 1879). Among these, the edition of J. Cruquius is especially noteworthy because it is founded mainly on some MSS. (Blandinii) which formerly existed at Blankenberghe, near Bruges, but which were burnt in 1568 soon after Cruquius collated them. One of them, which editors call V (*vetustissimus*), was a very good MS., but not specially good in the odes. Fea used the MSS. now in Italy: Orelli those in Switzerland: Pottier those in Paris. Other editors have chosen MSS. in different libraries. Keller and Holder have inspected about 50 MSS. and have carefully collated about 25 in various countries.

The chief commentaries on Horace, at least in regard to the collection of illustrative matter, are those of Orelli and Dillenburger.

§ 8. *Imitations of Greek Poets.*

The following collection of fragments from Greek poets is taken from the edition of Horace by Keller and Häussner (Leipzig and Prague, 1885). It consists of passages which Horace seems to have imitated in thought or metre.

1. C. I. 1.—Pindari *frag.* 221 (ed. Bergk').

.. 'Αελλοπόδων μὲν τιν' εὐφραίνουσιν ἵππων
τίμια καὶ στίφανοι, τοὺς δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοις θαλάμοις βιοτά·
τέρπεται δὲ καὶ τις ἔπι (φρασὶν) οἶδμ' ἐναλίων
ναῖ θοᾷ σῶς διαστείβων...

2. C. I. 9.—Alcaei *fr.* 34

Ὕει μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐκ δ' ὁράνω μέγας
χείμων, πεπάγασιν δ' ὑδάτων ῥόαι.

— — — — —

κάββαλλε τὸν χεῖμων', ἐπὶ μὲν τίθεις
πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κίρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως
μέλιχρον, αὐτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόρσῃ
μάλθακον ἀμφι... γνόφαλλον.

3. C. I. 10.—Alcaei *fr.* 5.

Χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὁ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι
θῦμος ἔμνην, τὸν κορίφαις ἐν αὐταῖς
Μαῖα γέννατο Κρονίδα μίγνισα.

4. C. I. 12.—Pindari *Olymp.* 2. 1 sq.

Ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ἔμμοι,
τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαθήσομεν;

5. C. I. 14.—Alcaei *fr.* 18.

Ἄσυνέτημι τῶν ἀνέμων στάσι·
τί μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κύμα κυλίνδεται,
τὸ δ' ἔνθεν ἄμμες δ' ἂν τὸ μίσσον
ναῖ φορήμεθα σὺν μελαίρῃ,
χείμωνι μοχθεῖντες μεγάλῳ μάλα·
περ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἱστοπέδαν ἔχει,
λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ζάδηλον ἦδη
καὶ λάκιδες μέγαλαι κατ' αὐτο·
χόλαισι δ' ἄγκοιναι

6. C. I. 18.—Alcaei *fr.* 44

Μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσῃς πρότερον δένδριον ἀμπέλῳ.

7. C. I. 23.—Anacreontis *fr.* 51.

Ἀγανῶς οἶά τε νεβρὸν νεοθηλέα
γαλαθηνόν, ὅστ' ἐν ὕλης κεροέσσης
ἀπολειφθεῖς ὑπὸ μητρὸς ἐπτοήθη.

8. C. I. 27, cf. III. 19. 9 sqq.—Anacreontis *fr.* 63.

Ἄγε δῆ, φέρ' ἡμῖν, ὦ παῖ,
κελέβην, ὅκως ἄμυστιν
προπίω, τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἐγχείας
ὕδατος, τὰ πέντε δ' οἴνου
κυάθους, ὡς ἀνυβριστί
ἀνὰ δηῦτε βασσαρήσω.

* *

*

ἄγε δηῦτε μηκέθ' οὔτω
πατάγω τε κάλαητῶ
Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνῳ
μελετώμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς
ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις.

9. C. I. 34. 12 sqq.—Archilochi *fr.* 56.

Τοῖς θεοῖς τίθει τὰ πάντα· πολλάκις μὲν ἐκ κακῶν
ἄνδρας ὀρθοῦσιν μελαίνῃ κειμένους ἐπὶ χθονί,
πολλάκις δ' ἀνατρέπουσι καὶ μάλ' εὖ βεβηκότας
ἵπτιους κλίνουσ' . . .

10. C. I. 37.—Alcaei *fr.* 20.

Νῦν χρὴ μεθύσθην καὶ τινα πρὸς βίαν
πώνην, ἐπειδὴ κάτθανε Μύρσιλος.

11. C. II. 2.—Comici cuiusdam versus a Plutarcho (περὶ
δυσωπίας 10) servatus :

Οὐκ ἔστ' ἐν ἄντροις λευκός, ὦ ξέν', ἄργυρος.

12. C. II. 7. 9 sqq.—Archilochi *fr.* 6.

Ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἣν παρὰ θάμνῳ
ἔντος ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων·
αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον θανάτου τέλος· ἀσπὶς ἐκείνῃ
ἐρρέτω· ἐξαῦτις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίῳ.

13. C. II. 18.—Bacchylidis *fr.* 28.

Οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι σώματ', οὔτε χρυσός, οὔτε πορφύρεοι τάπητες,
ἀλλὰ θυμὸς εὐμενής,
Μοῦσά τε γλυκεῖα καὶ Βοιωτίοισιν ἐν σκύφοισιν οἶνος ἡδύς.

14. C. III. 2. 13.—Tyrtaei *fr.* 10.
 Τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐπὶ προμάχοισι πεισόντα
 ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον.
15. C. III. 2. 14.—Simonidis *fr.* 65.
 'Ο δ' αὖ θάνατος κίχε καὶ τὸν φυγόμαχον.
16. C. III. 2. 25.—Simonidis *fr.* 66.
 "Εστι καὶ σιγᾶς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας.
17. C. III. 4.—Alcmanis *fr.* 45.
 Μῶσ' ἄγε, Καλλιόπα, θύγατερ Διός,
 ἄρχ' ἐρατῶν ἐπέων . . .
18. C. III. 11. 9 sqq.—Anacreontis *fr.* 75.
 Πῶλε Θρηκίη, τί δὴ με λοξὸν ὄμμασιν βλέπουσα
 ηὐλεῶς φεύγεις, δοκίεις δέ μ' οὐδὲν εἶδέναι σοφόν;
 * * *
- νῦν δὲ λειμῶνάς τε βόσκειαι κοῦφά τε σκιρτῶσα παίζεις·
 δεξιὸν γὰρ ἵπποσείρην οὐκ ἔχεις ἐπεμβάτην.
19. C. III. 12.—Alcaei *fr.* 59.
 "Εμε δεῖλαν, ἔμε πασᾶν κακοτάτων πεδέχουσιν.
20. C. IV. 3.—Hesiodi *Iheog.* 81 sqq.
 "Οὔτινα τιμήσωσι Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο
 γεινόμενόν τε ἰδῶσι διωτρεφείων βασιλῆων,
 τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσση γλυκερὴν χεῖουσιν ἑέρσην,
 τοῦ δ' ἔπε' ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μείλιχα . . .
21. *Erod.* 6. 13.—Archilochi *fr.* 94.
 Πάτερ Λυκάμβα, ποῖον ἐφράσω τόδε;
 τίς σὰς παρήειρε φρένας;
 ἧς τὸ πρὶν ἠρήρησθα· νῦν δὲ δὴ πολὺς
 ἀστοῖσι φαίνεται γέλως.
22. *Er.* 13.—Anacreontis *fr.* 6.
 Μεῖς μὲν δὴ Ποσειδῆϊόν
 ἔστηκεν, νεφέλας δ' ὕδωρ
 βαρύνει, Δία τ' ἄγριοι
 χειμῶνες κατάγουσιν.

CARMINUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

I.

Motum ex Metello consule civicum
bellicae causas et vitia et modos
ludumque Fortunae gravisque
principum amicitias et arma

nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus, 5
periculosae plenum opus aleae,
tractas et incedis per ignis
suppositos cineri doloso.

paulum severae Musa tragoediae
desit theatri: mox ubi publicas 10
res ordinari, grande munus
Cecropio repetes coturno,

insigne maestis praesidium reis
et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,
cui laurus aeternos honores
Delmatico peperit triumpho. 15

iam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
perstringis auris, iam litui strepunt,
iam fulgor armorum fugacis
terret equos equitumque vultus. 20

audire magnos iam videor duces
non indecoro pulvere sordidos,
et cuncta terrarum subacta
praeter atrocem animum Catonis.

Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior
Afris inulta cesserat impotens
tellure, victorum nepotes
rettulit inferias Iugurthae. 25

quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
campus sepulcris impia proelia
testatur auditumque Medis
Hesperiae sonitum ruinae? 30

qui gurgis aut quae flumina lugubris
ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae
non decoloravere caedes?
quae caret ora cruore nostro? 35

sed ne relictis, Musa, procax iocis
Cecae retractes munera neniae,
mecum Dionaeo sub antro
quaere modos leviori plectro. 40

II.

Nullus argento color est avaris
 abdito terris, †inimice lamnae
 Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
 splendeat usu.

vivet extento Proculeius aevo,
 notus in fratres animi paterni;
 illum aget pinna metuente solvi
 Fama superstes.

latius regnes avidum domando
 spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis
 Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus
 serviat uni.

crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops,
 nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi
 fugerit venis et aquosus albo
 corpore languor.

redditum Cyri solio Phraaten
 dissidens plebi numero beatorum
 eximit virtus populumque falsis
 dedocet uti

vocibus, regnum et diadema tutum
 deferens uni propriamque laurum,
 quisquis ingentis oculo irretorto
 spectat acervos.

II. 2. *inimice* is in all the MSS. Lambinus proposed *abditae* (sc. *lamnae*) for *abdito*, so that the sense would run *nullus arg. color est nisi temp. spl. usu* and *avaris*—*Sallusti* would be the form of address. Prof. Housman has suggested *minimusque* (sc. *color est*) or *minuitque lamnae* (i.e. ‘it fades from plate’). Words like *inimice*, consisting mainly of equal and parallel downstrokes, are often seats of corruption.

17. *Phraaten*. This spelling is given in the Monumentum Ancyranum. A majority of the MSS. have *Prahaten*.

III.

Aequam memento rebus in arduis
servare mentem, non secus in bonis
ab insolenti temperatam
laetitia, moriture Delli,

seu maestus omni tempore vixeris, 5
seu te in remoto gramine per dies
festos reclinatum bearis
interiore nota Falerni.

quo pinus ingens albaque populus 10
umbram hospitem consociare amant
ramis? quid obliquo laborat
lympha fugax trepidare rivo?

huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
flores amoenae ferre iube rosae,
dum res et aetas et sororum 15
fila trium patiuntur atra.

cedes coemptis saltibus et domo
villaque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit:
cedes, et exstructis in altum
divitiis potietur heres. 20

divesne prisco natus ab Inacho
nil interest an pauper et infima
de gente sub divo moreris,
victima nil miserantis Orci:

omnes eodem cogimur, omnium 25
versatur urna serius ocus
sors exitura et nos in aeternum
exilium impositura cumbae.

IV.

Ne sit ancillae tibi amor pudori,
Xanthia Phoeu! prius insolentem
serva Briseis niveo colore
movit Achillem;

movit Aiacem Telamone natum
forma captivae dominum Tecmessae;
arsit Atrides medio in triumpho
virgine rapta,

5

barbarae postquam cecidere turmae
Thessalo victore et ademptus Hector
tradidit fessis leviora tolli
Pergama Grais.

10

nescias an te generum beati
Phyllidis flavae decorent parentes:
regium certe genus et penatis
maeret iniquos.

15

crede non illam tibi de scelestâ
plebe dilectam, neque sic fidelem,
sic lucro aversam potuisse nasci
matre pudenda.

20

bracchia et vultum teretisque suras
integer laudo: fuge suspicari,
cuius octavum trepidavit aetas
claudere lustrum.

V.

Nondum subacta ferre iugum valet
cervice, nondum munia comparis
aequare nec tauri ruentis
in venerem tolerare pondus.

circa virentis est animus tuae
campos iuvencae, nunc fluviis gravem
solantis aestum, nunc in udo
ludere cum vitulis salicto

praekestientis. tolle cupidinem
immitis uvae: iam tibi lividos
distinguet autumnus racemos
purpureo varius colore.

iam te sequetur: currit enim ferox
aetas et illi, quos tibi dempserit,
apponet annos: iam proterva
fronte petet Lalage maritum,

dilecta, quantum non Pholoe fugax,
non Chloris albo sic umero nitens
ut pura nocturno renidet
luna mari, Cnidiusve Gyges:

quem si puellarum insereres choro,
mire sagacis falleret hospites
discrimen obscurum solutis
crinibus ambiguoque vultu.

VI.

Septimi, Gadis aditure mecum et
Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra et
barbaras Syrtis, ubi Maura semper
aestuat unda :

Tibur Argeo positum colono 5
sit meae sedes utinam senectae,
sit modus lasso maris et viarum
militiaeque.

unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae, 10
dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi
flumen et regnata petam Laconi
rura Phalantho.

ille terrarum mihi praeter omnis
angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto
mella decedunt viridique certat 15
baca Venafro,

ver ubi longum tepidasque praebet
Iuppiter brumas et amicus Aulon
fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
invidet uvis. 20

ille te mecum locus et beatae
postulant arces, ibi tu calentem
debita sparges lacrima favillam
vatis amici.

VII.

O saepe mecum tempus in ultimum
deducte Bruto militiae duce,
 quis te redonavit Quiritem
 dis patriis Italoque caelo,

Pompei, meorum prime sodalium,
cum quo morantem saepe diem mero
 fregi coronatus nitentis
 malobathro Syrio capillos?

5

tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
sensi, relictæ non bene parmula,
 cum fracta virtus et minaces
 turpe solum tetigere mento.

10

sed me per hostis Mercurius celer
denso paventem sustulit aere :
 te rursus in bellum resorbens
 unda fretis tulit aestuosis.

15

ergo obligatam redde Iovi dapem,
longaque fessum militia latus
 depone sub lauru mea nec
 parce cadis tibi destinatis.

20

oblivioso levia Massico
ciboria exple, funde capacibus
 unguenta de conchis. quis udo
 deproperare apio coronas

curatve myrto? quem Venus arbitrum
dicet bibendi? non ego sanius
 bacchabor Edonis : recepto
 dulce mihi furere est amico.

25

VIII.

Ulla si iuris tibi peierati
poena, Barine, nocuisset umquam,
dente si nigro fieres vel uno
turpior ungui,

crederem : sed tu simul obligasti
perfidum votis caput, enitescis
pulchrior multo iuvenumque prodis
publica cura.

5

expedit matris cineres opertos
fallere et toto taciturna noctis
signa cum caelo gelidaque divos
morte carentis.

10

ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa, rident
simplices Nymphae, ferus et Cupido,
semper ardentis acuens sagittas
cote cruenta.

15

adde quod pubes tibi crescit omnis,
servitus crescit nova, nec priores
impiae tectum dominae relinquunt,
saepe minati.

20

te suis matres metuunt iuencis,
te senes parci, miseraeque nuper
virgines nuptae, tua ne retardet
aura maritos.

IX.

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
manant in agros aut mare Caspium
vexant inaequales procellae
usque, nec Armeniis in oris,

amice Valgi, stat glacies iners 5
menses per omnis aut Aquilonibus
querceta Gargani laborant
et foliis viduantur orni :

tu semper urges flebilibus modis
Mysten ademptum, nec tibi Vespero 10
surgente decedunt amores
nec rapidum fugiente solem.

at non ter aevo functus amabilem
ploravit omnis Antilochum senex
annos, nec impubem parentes 15
Troilon aut Phrygiae sorores

flevare semper. desine mollium
tandem querellarum, et potius nova
cantemus Augusti tropaea
Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten 20

Medumque flumen gentibus additum
victis minores volvere vertices,
intraque praescriptum Gelonos
exiguus equitare campis.

X.

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
litus iniquum.

auream quisquis mediocritatem 5
diligat, tutus caret obsoleti
sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
sobrius aula.

saepius ventis agitur ingens
pinus et celsae graviore casu 10
decidunt turres feriuntque summos
fulgura montis.

sperat infestis, metuit secundis
alteram sortem bene praeparatum
pectus. informis hiemes reducit 15
Iuppiter, idem

summovet. non, si male nunc, et olim
sic erit: quondam citharae tacentem
suscitat Musam neque semper arcum
tendit Apollo. 20

rebus angustis animosus atque
fortis appare: sapienter idem
contrahes vento nimium secundo
turgida vela.

x. 18. A majority of MSS. have *cithara*, with which edd. compare
IV. 15. 2 *increpuit lyra* ('rebuked me with his lyre'). *citharae* seems
preferable for reasons given in the explanatory note.

XI.

Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,
 Hirpine Quincti, cogitet Hadria
 divisus obiecto, remittas
 quaerere nec trepides in usum
 poscentis aevi pauca: fugit retro 5
 levis iuventas et decor, arida
 pellente lascivos amores
 canitie facilemque somnum.
 non semper idem floribus est honor
 vernis neque uno luna rubens nitet 10
 vultu: quid aeternis minorem
 consiliis animum fatigas?
 cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
 pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa
 canos odorati capillos, 15
 dum licet, Assyriaque nardo
 potamus uncti? dissipat Euhius
 curas edacis. quis puer ocius
 restinguet ardentis Falerni
 pocula praetereunte lymphæ? 20
 quis devium scortum eliciet domo
 Lyden? eburna dic age cum lyra
 maturet, incomptum Lacaenæ
 more comæ religata nodum.

XI. 21. *devium scortum* is in all the MSS. But Hor. does not elsewhere use *scortum* and is not likely to have employed such a coarse word here. The epithet *devium* too (supposed to mean 'shy') is odd in such a connexion. Prof. Palmer proposes to read *devia* (sc. domo) and *scitam* ('clever'). *delitescentem* might also be suggested, but, though the text is bad, no emendation can be convincing.

23, 24. The MSS. which have *comæ* have *in comptum*. Those which have *incomptum* have *comam*. Many edd. read *in comptum—comam—nodum*. Others read *incomptam—comam—nodo*.

XII.

Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare
Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
aptari citharae modis,

nec saevos Lapithas et nimium mero 5
Hylaeum domitosque Herculea manu
Telluris iuvenes, unde periculum
fulgens contremuit domus

Saturni veteris: tuque pedestribus
dices historiis proelia Caesaris, 10
Maecenas, melius ductaque per vias
regum colla minacium.

me dulcis dominae Musa Licymniae
cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum
fulgentis oculos et bene mutuis
fidum pectus amoribus; 15

quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris
nec certare ioco nec dare bracchia
ludentem nitidis virginibus sacro
Dianae celebris die.

num tu quae tenuit dives Achaemenes
aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes
permutare velis crine Licymniae,
 plenas aut Arabum domos,

XII. 2. *durum* is in all mss. Some edd. read *dirum* because Quintilian (VIII. 2. 9) quotes Horace's *acrem tibiā* and *Hannibalem dirum* as examples of *proprie dictum, id est, quo nihil inveniri potest significantius*. But it is sufficient to suppose that Quint. was referring to III. 6. 36.

cum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
 cervicem, aut facili saevitia negat,
 quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
 interdum rapere occupet? 25

XIII.

Ille et nefasto te posuit die,
 quicumque primum, et sacrilega manu
 produxit, arbos, in nepotum
 perniciem opprobriumque pagi;
 illum et parentis crediderim sui 5
 fregisse cervicem et penetralia
 sparsisse nocturno cruore
 hospitis; ille venena Colcha
 et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas
 tractavit, agro qui statuit meo 10
 te triste lignum, te caducum
 in domini caput immerentis.
 quid quisque vitet, numquam homini satis
 cautum est in horas. navita Bosphorum
 Thynus perhorrescit neque ultra 15
 caeca timet aliunde fata,

28. Most MSS. have *occupet*. Some have *occupat*, which Bentley preferred, making *detorquet*, *negat*, and *occupat* coordinate. But it is easier to supply the object to *occupet* than to *occupat*.

XIII. 15. *Thynus* is Lachmann's emendation for *Poenus* of the MSS. It is obvious, from the following instances, that, to the sailor named, the Bosphorus was the nearest danger. The Bithynians were great sailors and merchants (cf. l. 35. 7, III. 7. 3, *Epist.* l. 6. 33) and lived on the Bosphorus. In Hor.'s time there were no Carthaginian

miles sagittas et celerem fugam
 Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum
 robur: sed improvisa leti
 vis rapuit rapietque gentis. 20
 quam paene furvae regna Proserpinae
 et iudicantem vidimus Aeacum
 sedesque discriptas piorum et
 Aeoliis fidibus querentem
 Sappho puellis de popularibus, 25
 et te sonantem plenius aureo,
 Alcaeae, plectro dura navis,
 dura fugae mala, dura belli.
 utrumque sacro digna silentio
 mirantur umbrae dicere: sed magis 30
 pugnas et exactos tyrannos
 densum umeris bibit aure vulgus.
 quid mirum, ubi illis carminibus stupens
 demittit atras belua centiceps
 auris et intorti capillis 35
 Eumenidum recreantur angues?
 quin et Prometheus et Pelopis parens
 dulci laborem decipitur sono,
 nec curat Orion leones
 aut timidos agitare lyncas. 40

sailors and, if there had been, it would have been absurd to select the Bosphorus as the only danger they feared.

In l. 16 Lachmann also conjectured *timetve*, so as to avoid lengthening the short syllable and also to separate *ultra* from *aliunde*. This is a good emendation, but not so convincing as *Thynus*.

23. *discriptas* has much better MS. authority than *discretas*.

38. *laborem* has better MS. authority than *laborum*, and is better warranted by Greek idiom (e.g. ἐξαπατᾶν νόσον 'to beguile an illness').

XIV.

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
labuntur anni nec pietas moram
 rugis et instanti senectae
 afferet indomitaeque morti;

non, si trecenis, quotquot eunt dies, 5
amice, places illacrimabilem

 Plutona tauris, qui ter amplum
 Geryonen Tityonque tristi

compescit unda, scilicet omnibus,
quicumque terrae munere vescimur, 10
 enaviganda, sive reges
 sive inopes erimus coloni.

frustra cruento Marte carebimus
fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,
 frustra per autumnos nocentem 15
 corporibus metuemus Austrum.

visendus ater flumine languido
Cocytos errans et Danai genus
 infame damnatusque longi
 Sisyphus Aeolides laboris. 20

linquenda tellus et domus et placens
uxor, neque harum, quas colis, arborum
 te praeter invisas cupressos
 ulla brevem dominum sequetur.

absumet heres Caecuba dignior 25
servata centum clavibus et mero
 tinguet pavimentum superbo,
 pontificum potiore cenis.

XV.

Iam pauca aratro iugera regiae
 moles relinquent, undique latius
 extenta visentur Lucrino
 stagna lacu platanusque caelebs
 evincet ulmos: tum violaria et 5
 myrtus et omnis copia narium
 spargent olivetis odorem
 fertilibus domino priori,
 tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos
 excludet ictus, non ita Romuli 10
 praescriptum et intonsi Catonis
 auspiciis veterumque norma.
 privatus illis census erat brevis,
 commune magnum: nulla decempedis
 metata privatis opacam 15
 porticus excipiebat Arcton,
 nec fortuitum spernere caespitem
 leges sinebant, oppida publico
 sumptu iubentes et deorum
 templa novo decorare saxo. 20

XVI.

Otium divos rogat in patenti
 pressus Aegaeo, simul atra nubes
 condidit lunam neque certa fulgent
 sidera nautis;
 otium bello furiosa Thrace, 5
 otium Medi pharetra decori,
 Gropshe, non gemmis neque purpura ve-
 nale neque auro.

non enim gazae neque consularis
summovet lictor miseros tumultus
mentis et curas laqueata circum
tecta volantis. 10

vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum
splendet in mensa tenui salinum
nec levis somnos timor aut cupido
sordidus aufert. 15

quid brevi fortes iaculamur aevo
multa? quid terras alio calentis
sole mutamus? patriae quis exul
se quoque fugit? 20

scandit aeratas vitiosa navis
cura nec turmas equitum relinquit,
ocior cervis et agente nimbos
ocior Euro.

laetus in praesens animus, quod ultra est,
oderit curare et amara lento
temperet risu: nihil est ab omni
parte beatum. 25

abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem,
longa Tithonum minuit senectus,
et mihi forsán, tibi quod negarit,
porriget hora. 30

te greges centum Siculaeque circum
mugiunt vaccae, tibi tollit hinnitum
apta quadrigis equa, te bis Afro
murice tinctae 35

vestiunt lanae: mihi parva rura et
spiritum Graiae tenuem camenae
Parca non mendax dedit et malignum
spernere vulgus. 40

XVII.

Cur me querellis exanimas tuis?
nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius
obire, Maecenas, mearum
grande decus columenque rerum.

a, te meae si partem animae rapit
maturior vis, quid moror altera,
nec carus aequè nec superstes
integer? ille dies utramque

ducet ruinam. non ego perfidum
dixi sacramentum : ibimus, ibimus, 10
utcumque praecedes, supremum
carpere iter comites parati.

me nec Chimaerae spiritus igneae,
nec, si resurgat, centimanus Gyas
divellet umquam: sic potenti
Iustitiae placitumque Parcis.

seu Libra seu me Scorpions aspiciat
formidulosus, pars violentior
natalis horae, seu tyrannus
Hesperiae Capricornus undae, 20

utrumque nostrum incredibili modo
consentit astrum. te Iovis impio
tutela Saturno refulgens
eripuit volucrisque fati

XVII. 14. All the MSS. have *gigas*, and some scholiasts explained this as meaning Briareus. Lambinus read (as also in III. 4. 69) *Gyas*, who is frequently named in Hesiod's *Theogony* and in Ovid. The proper name seems better here. *Gyas* (Γύης) is also known as *Gyges*, but the quantity of the first syllable of *Gyges* seems to be long (cf. II. 5. 20).

tardavit alas, cum populus frequens 25
 lactum theatri ter crepuit sonum :
 me truncus illapsus cerebro
 sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
 dextra levasset, Mercurialium
 custos virorum. reddere victimas 30
 aedemque votivam memento :
 nos humilem feriemus agnam.

XVIII.

Non ebur neque aureum
 mea renidet in domo lacunar,
 non trabes Hymettiae
 premunt columnas ultima recisas
 Africa, neque Attali 5
 ignotus heres regiam occupavi,
 nec Laconicas mihi
 trahunt honestae purpuras clientae.
 at fides et ingeni
 benigna vena est, pauperemque dives 10
 me petit : nihil supra
 deos lacesso nec potentem amicum
 largiora flagito,
 satis beatus unicus Sabinis.
 truditur dies die 15
 novaeque pergunt interire lunae :
 tu secanda marmora
 locas sub ipsum funus et sepulcri
 immemor struis domos,
 marisque Bais obstrepentis urges 20
 summovere litora,
 parum locuples continente ripa.

quid quod usque proximos
 revellis agri terminos et ultra
 limites clientium 25
 salis avarus? pellitur paternos
 in sinu ferens deos
 et uxor et vir sordidosque natos.
 nulla certior tamen
 rapacis Orci fine destinata 30
 aula divitem manet
 erum. quid ultra tendis? aequa tellus
 pauperi recluditur
 regumque pueris, nec satelles Orci
 callidum Promethea 35
 revexit auro captus: hic superbum
 Tantalum atque Tantali
 genus coercet, hic levare functum
 pauperem laboribus
 vocatus atque non vocatus audit. 40

XIX.

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
 vidi docentem, credite posteri,
 Nymphasque discentis et auris
 capripedum Satyrorum acutas.
 euhoe, recenti mens trepidat metu 5
 plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
 laetatur: euhoe, parce Liber,
 parce gravi metuende thyrso!

XVIII. 30. Servius, the commentator on Vergil, seems to have read *sede* for *fine*, for he quotes this line (on *Aen.* VI. 152) with the preface *sepulcrum sedes vocatur*. His quotations are often inaccurate and there is no authority for *sede* in the MSS. of Hor. Even in Servius himself most MSS. read *fine*.

fas pervicacis est mihi Thyiadas
 vinique fontem, lactis et uberes 10
 cantare rivos atque truncis
 lapsa cavis iterare mella :
 fas et beatæ coniugis additum
 stellis honorem tectaque Penthei
 disiecta non leni ruina, 15
 Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.
 tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum,
 tu separatis uvidus in iugis
 nodo coerces viperino
 Bistonidum sine fraude crinis. 20
 tu, cum parentis regna per arduum
 cohors Gigantum scanderet impia,
 Rhoetum retorsisti leonis
 unguibus horribilique mala,
 quamquam choreis aptior et iocis 25
 ludoque dictus non sat idoneus
 pugnae ferebaris ; sed idem
 pacis eras mediusque belli.
 te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
 cornu decorum, leniter atterens 30
 caudam, et recedentis trilingui
 ore pedes tetigitque crura.

XX.

Non usitata nec tenui ferar
 pinna biformis per liquidum aethera
 vates, neque in terris morabor
 longius, invidiaque maior

urbes relinquam. non ego pauperum 5
sanguis parentum, non ego quem vocas,
dilecte Maecenas, obibo
nec Stygia cohibebor unda.

iam iam residunt cruribus asperae
pelles et album mutor in alitem 10
superne nascunturque leves
per digitos umerosque plumae.

iam Daedaleo notior Icaro
visam gementis litora Bosphori
Syrtisque Gaetulas canorus 15
ales Hyperboreosque campos.

me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum
Marsae cohortis, Dacus et ultimi
noscent Geloni, me peritus
discet Hiber Rhodanique potor. 20

absint inani funere neniae
luctusque turpes et querimoniae:
compesce clamorem ac sepulcri
mitte supervacuos honores.

xx. 6. All MSS. have *quem vocas*. Munro and other edd. propose to construct *quem vocas* 'dilecte' together (=whom you call 'beloved'), but even if this were possible Latin, it is quite out of keeping with the context. The repetition of *non ego* requires some second term of reproach at least as humiliating as *pauperum sanguis parentum*. Such a sense can perhaps be got out of *quem vocas*, for Hor. expressly says (*Sat.* 1. 6. 46) that people carped at him *quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor*. This is not satisfactory, but no tolerable emendation has been proposed. (*perjuga* 'turn-coat' may be suggested, but cannot be recommended.)

13. The best MSS. have *notior*, but many have *ocior*. Bentley conjectured *tutior*: other edd. *cautior*, *doctior*, *laetior*, *audacior* etc.

BOOK II.

Ode I.

To C. Asinius Pollio, poet, historian and statesman. He was born B.C. 76 and was a friend, in his youth, of the poets Catullus, Calvus and Cinna. He was consul B.C. 40 and as proconsul, next year, gained a triumph for his victory over the Parthini of Dalmatia. From this time he seems to have devoted himself to literature. His tragedies are highly praised by Vergil (*Eclogue* VIII. 10) and his speeches by Quintilian, Seneca and Tacitus. At the date of this ode, he was composing a history of the civil wars, beginning from the year B.C. 60. It was in 17 books and appears to have been largely used by Appian. Pollio was rather an old-fashioned writer and was a very severe critic of his contemporaries. He found fault, for various reasons, with Cicero, Caesar, Sallust and Livy, and can hardly have liked Horace's Latinity, though he was a good friend to Horace himself. (*Sat.* I. 10. 85.) Out of the spoils of the Dalmatian war, he founded the first public library at Rome. He died B.C. 4.

Scheme. The civil war is thy theme, O Pollio, man of many talents. I think I hear the clatter and see the rage and sweat of battle. Surely some gods are wreaking their vengeance on us. What land or sea is not stained with our blood? But stay, my Muse: such tragic laments are not for thee.

Metre. Alcaic.

1. *motum*, 'rebellion.' The governing verb is *tractas* in l. 7.

ex Metello consule, 'beginning from the consulship of Metellus' i.e. B.C. 60, when L. Afranius and Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer were consuls. In this year, the first triumvirate, or agreement for the control of public affairs, between Pompey, Caesar and Crassus was formed. The agreement was for the purpose of united action against the senate, which refused to ratify certain acts and promises of Pompey. It secured to Caesar the consulship of B.C. 59 and that long proconsulship in Gaul which provided him with his military experience and his splendid army.

civicum, for *civilem*, cf. *hosticum* in III. 2. 6.

2. *bellique...modos*. It seems likely that the main themes of the history (*motum...bellique* etc....*ludumque...gravisque* etc.) are connected

by *-que*, and that *causas et vitia et modos* are details of the theme *bellum*: 'the causes and mistakes and methods (or phases) of the war.'

3. *ludumque*, cf. I. 2. 37, III. 29. 50.

4. *principum*, 'the foremost men,' cf. I. 2. 50 n. The *principes* here are Pompey, Caesar and Crassus.

5. *nondum expiatis*. Some editors infer, from these words, that this ode was written before the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), but Horace still looks for expiation in I. 2. 29, and that ode appears to have been written in B.C. 28. Civil strife is not expiated till its bad consequences have passed away.

6. *periculosae...doloso*. The point of these lines is that a history of such momentous times might renew old political strifes.

opus, used of a literary task or theme by Tacitus, *Hist.* I. 2 *opus aggredior opimum casibus* etc.

aleae, 'throws,' as if the historian 'staked his reputation' on every page. So many men of both parties still survived in Rome that Pollio's work would be jealously criticised.

7. *incedis per ignis...doloso*. A proverbial expression for a dangerous undertaking. Cf. Propertius I. 5. 5 *ignotas vestigia ferre per ignes*.

9. *paulum*, 'awhile' as in III. 11. 20.

severae Musa tragoediae, 'the muse of thy stately tragedy.'

10. *desit theatris*, 'be missed from the theatre,' a more delicate expression (as Kiessling remarks) than *absit*.

publicas res, 'the history of our state,' opposed to the *regum facta* which (as Horace says in *Sat.* I. 10. 43) were the theme of Pollio's tragedies.

12. *repetes*, 'you can resume,' a permissive future, like *laudabunt alii* in I. 7. 1.

Cecropio coturno, abl. of 'attendant circumstances' (Roby § 1250) like the abl. with *opus* and *usus*. *Cecropio* is 'Attic,' from Cecrops, an ancient king of Attica. *coturnus* is the 'buskin,' a heavy boot worn by the actors of Greek tragedy and so used often, by metonymy, for tragedy itself. Similarly *soccus*, properly a slipper worn by comic actors, was used for comedy, cf. *Ars Poetica* 80, where it is said (of iambic metre) *hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque coturni*. Cf. Milton's 'To the well-trod stage anon, If Jonson's learned sock be on' (*L'Allegro* 131) and 'the buskin'd stage' (*Il Pens.* 102).

13. *insigne.. reis*. Out of eleven speeches of Pollio's, the titles of which are known, nine are speeches in defence of accused persons.

maestis. Defendants in Greek and Roman trials were wont to put on mourning and make piteous appeals to the clemency of the jury.

praesidium, vocative, in app. to *Pollio*. Cf. I. 1. 2.

14. *curiae*, 'the senate.'

16. **Delmatico...triumpho.** Pollio obtained a triumph in B.C. 39 for successes over the Parthini, an Illyrian tribe.

17—24. Seneca says that Pollio was the first author who invited his friends together to hear extracts from his forthcoming literary works. (This was afterwards the regular fashion in Rome.) Wickham and Kiessling suggest that Horace is here alluding to certain choice extracts from the history which Pollio had read at such an assembly. Hence *iam nunc* and the repetition of *iam* in these stanzas, as if the poet were following the recitation with breathless interest.

cornuum. The *cornu* was a curved horn, quite distinct from the *tuba*, which was straight, and the *lituus* which was bent at the wider end. It is likely (cf. I. 1. 23) that the *tuba* belonged to infantry and the *lituus* to cavalry, but it would seem that the *cornu* belonged to infantry too. Vegetius says *quoties movenda sunt signa, cornicines canunt: quoties autem pugnatur, et tubicines et cornicines pariter canunt.* (See Smith's *Dic. of Antiq.* 3rd ed. s.v. *Exercitus*, p. 801.)

18. **perstringis**, 'you grate upon,' *stringere* is 'to scrape,' 'peel.' **strepunt.** The *lituus* was somewhat shrill.

20. **equitumque vultus.** Plutarch (*Caesar* 45) says that Pompey's horsemen 'would not face the steel but turned about and wrapped themselves up to save their faces.' They feared disfigurement, for it was known that Caesar had ordered his men to aim at their faces.

21. **audire.** Horace seems actually to hear the words of command. Bentley wished to read *videre*, for the next line describes the appearance, not the voice, of the generals. But the incongruity is really effective, as a sign of Horace's excitement. 'I hear the generals. Here they come, all dust-begrimed!'

22. **pulvere**, cf. *pulvere Troico nigrum Merionen* in I. 6. 14.

23. **cuncta terrarum subacta**, 'the downfall of all the world,' the same crash which is described below (l. 32) as *Hesperiae sonitum ruinae*. For the participle cf. I. 13. 19 n. and for *cuncta terrarum* cf. *acuta belli* IV. 4. 76 and *amara curarum* IV. 12. 19.

24. **atrocem**, 'stubborn.' Cato the younger committed suicide at Utica on hearing the news of the battle of Thapsus. His death was a favourite example of Roman stoicism, cf. I. 12. 28.

25. **Iuno.** Astarte or Ashtoreth, the patron goddess of Carthage as of other Phoenician cities, was identified by the Romans with Juno, bearing the special title *Caelestis*. In the *Aeneid*, the hostility of Juno to Aeneas is due not only to her predilection for Carthage and Dido but also to her earlier hatred of Troy.

amicior (like *pinguior* in l. 29) is intensive, not strictly comparative.

26. **inulta...tellure**, 'from the land that they could not defend.' *inulta* takes the place of an adj. in *-bilis*, cf. *Introd.* p. xxiv.

cesserat. The Romans, before the final assault on a town, used to call on its gods to desert it. After capturing a town, they frequently

removed its objects of worship to Rome. See the case of Veii in Livy v. 22. Servius (on *Aeneid* xii. 841) says that, in the Third Punic War, Scipio transferred a statue of Juno from Carthage to Rome.

27. *victorum nepotes*. Commentators cite this notable instance. Q. Metellus Scipio, the grandson of Q. Metellus Numidicus who conquered Jugurtha, killed himself in Africa after the battle of Thapsus.

28. *rettulit*, *re-* in comp. often has the sense of 'duly,' cf. *reddo Iovi dapem* in ii. 7. 17.

Jugurthae. Jugurtha was starved to death in prison B.C. 104.

29. Two questions are ingeniously combined. 'What plain is not enriched with our blood and does not, by its tombs, bear witness to our impious battles?'

30. *impla*, because fratricidal.

31. *Medis*. The Parthians, as in i. 2. 51, named here both because they were very remote from Italy and also because they were implacable enemies of Rome and would exult in her disasters.

32. *Hesperiae* (adjective), 'Italian,' but its etymological sense is 'western' so that it contrasts forcibly with *Medis*.

33. *gurgēs* appears to mean 'strait,' the allusion being to the naval battles of B.C. 36 in or near the straits of Messina, and to the battle of Actium. The word *gurgēs* is sometimes applied to an open sea (as *Carpathius gurgēs* in Verg. *Georg.* iv. 387), but the name is appropriate to a strait with its violent currents, and we require some distinction between *qui gurgēs* and *quod mare* of l. 34.

34. *Dauniae*, properly 'Apulian' (cf. i. 20. 14), but here 'Italian' (by metonymy of 'part for whole').

37. *ne retractes*, 'lest you should resume,' probably not prohibitive but cf. i. 33. 1 n.

38. *Ceae neniae*, 'the Cean dirge,' alluding to the dirges (*θρήνοι*) composed by Simonides of Ceos, a contemporary of Pindar (say B.C. 520-450). Perhaps we should translate (as Kiessling suggests) 'the Cean dirge-goddess,' for there was a goddess Nenia at Rome, who had a shrine before the Viminal gate.

munera, 'the office' (as *supra* l. 11) abandoned by Simonides.

39. *Dionaeo sub antro*, 'in the grotto of Venus.' Dione was the mother of Venus.

40. *leviore plectro*, cf. *maiore plectro* in iv. 2. 33. The abl. belongs to *quaere*: 'seek your tunes with lighter quill.' The lighter *plectrum* would produce softer and more rapid notes in straying over the strings.

Ode II.

To C. Sallustius (or Salustius) Crispus, the great-nephew and adoptive son of Sallust the historian. Like Maecenas, he declined rank and office, but was nevertheless a very powerful personage and enjoyed a close intimacy with Augustus. He died at a great age in A.D. 20. He was very rich and generous.

Scheme. Money, as you know, Sallust, was made to be used, not buried. The generosity of Proculeius wins him undying fame. Conquer avarice and your sway will be wider than many provinces. Give in to it and it will grow worse and worse. Happiness belongs not to kings but to him who is indifferent to riches.

The ode represents that small portion of Stoicism which Horace combined with his Epicureanism. On the date, see l. 17.

Metre. Sapphic.

1—4. The meaning of the text as it stands is: 'There is no brightness in silver when buried in the hoarding earth, (as you know) Sallust, who hate all bullion unless it shines with moderate use.' But the language is obscure and weak too, for *nisi* is wholly dependent on *inimice* and the point of the stanza, which lies in *nisi...splendeat usu*, is not delivered by Horace himself but put as an opinion of Sallustius. Prof. Housman's suggestion *minimusque* gives much better sense: 'Silver has *no* lustre when buried in the hoarding earth (i.e. the mine) and *very little* when smelted, unless it shines with moderate use.' (Prof. Housman's other conjecture *minuitque* involves a doubtful use of *minuit* and is less likely.)

avaris. If *inimice* is read in l. 2, then *argento* stands for money and *avaris terris* is a kind of hypallage for 'underground hoard.' But if *minimusque* is read in l. 2, then *argento* stands for 'silver ore' and the earth is called *avara* in the sense of 'hard-gripping,' or 'capacious' (cf. *avaro mari* in III. 29. 61). This latter sense is the more probable because Horace seems to be translating a Greek proverb *οὐκ ἔστι ἐν ἀντροῖς λευκός, ὃ ξέν, ἄργυρος* (Plut. *de vit. pud.* III. p. 148). Cf. also III. 3. 49 *aurum irreperitum* etc.

2. *terris.* Again, if *abdito* means 'put away,' then *terris* may be dative (cf. *lateri...abdidit ensem* in *Aeneid* II. 553). But if *abdito* means merely 'concealed,' *terris* is ablat.

lamnae (syncopated from *lamina*, cf. *puertiae* in I. 36. 8) means properly a 'thin plate' of metal but obviously refers here to worked silver, whether as ingots or plate or coin.

3. *Crispe Sallusti.* For the inversion of names cf. *Hirpine Quinti* in II. 11. 2.

5. *Proculeius.* C. Proculeius Varro Murena was brother to Terentia, Maecenas' wife, and to L. Licinius Murena (addressed in II. 10. 1). Porphyryon (*Introd.* p. xxxvi) says he had another brother called Scipio (perhaps we should read *Caepio*) and that, when his brothers had lost their all in the civil war, he divided his property with them.

extento aevo, 'with lifetime far prolonged' by fame.

6. **animi**. Roby (*Lat. Gr.* § 1320) describes this genitive as that of 'the thing in point of which a term is applied' (cf. I. 20. 1 n.). It is not here connected with the locative *animi* (as in *anxius animi* etc.) but is imitated from such Greek constructions as *ζηλω σε τοῦ νοῦ*. In IV. 13. 21 *nota dolium gratarum* is parallel, if that reading is correct.

in fratres animi paterni, cf. IV. 4. 27 *paternus In pueros animus Neronis*.

7. **aget**, 'shall bear him on.'

pinna metuente solvi, 'with undrooping wing.' For *metuente* cf. III. 11. 10 and Verg. *Georg.* I. 246 *Arctos Oceani metuentes aequore tingi*. *solvi* means 'to be relaxed,' 'to droop.'

9—12. For the Stoic sentiment cf. *Epist.* I. 1. 106 *sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives, Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum*.

9. **regnes**, addressed to the reader, not specially to Sallustius.

domando=*si domueris*, cf. II. 10. 2, 3.

10. **Libyam**, a land of huge farms, cf. I. 1. 10.

11. **lungas** as possessor.

uterque Poenus, i.e. the Carthaginians of Africa and those of *Carthago Nova* in Spain.

12. **uni**, sc. *tibi*. *serviat* 'were your slaves,' working on your farms.

13. The point is that avarice increases by indulgence like dropsy. Cf. III. 16. 17 *crecentem sequitur cura pecuniam Maiorumque fames*.

hydrops, the disease, is a proper nominative to *creciscit* but not to *pellit* in next line. In Greek *ὑδρωψ* is used both of the disease and of the patient.

15. **venis**. The ancients seem to have regarded drinking as directly filling the veins. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* III. 482 *venis omnibus acta sitis*.

albo, often used of a sickly whiteness. Cf. *Epod.* 7. 15.

17. **redditum...Phraaten** (governed by *eximit*). Phraates (or Prahates) IV., King of Parthia, recovered his throne from Tiridates early in B.C. 26. See I. 26. 3-5 n.

Cyri solio. Horace as usual identifies the Parthians with the Persians and Medes (I. 2. 22 and 51) over whom Cyrus was king (B.C. 560-529).

18. **disidens plebi**, 'disagreeing with the vulgar.'

beatorum. 'Fortunate' is the best equivalent, for *beatus* means 'wealthy' as well as 'happy.' For the synaphea (or connexion of two lines) which permits the elision of the last syllable in this word, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

19. **virtus**, the Stoic *ἀρετή*, which, according to Cicero (*Tusc.* IV. 15. 34), *brevissime recta ratio dici potest*.

20. *dedocet*, 'unteaches.' Cf. *dediscere, dedignari, desipere* etc.

21. *vocibus*, 'names.'

regnum...deferens. Cf. the passage quoted on ll. 9—12 and also *Sat.* I. 3. 125 *dives qui sapiens est Et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex*.

diadema, properly a blue band, variegated with white spots, which encircled the tiara of Persian kings. See Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.* 3rd ed. s. v.

tutum...propriamque, 'a realm and crown unassailable and a laurel all his own.'

uni quisquis, 'to him alone, whosoever he is who.'

23. *irretorto*, a substitute for an adj. in *-bilis* (cf. *Introd.* p. xxiv), 'an eye that will not turn to look twice.' The word is only used here.

24. *acervos*, piles of wealth.

Ode III.

To Q. Dellius, another member of the same noble circle to which Pollio, Sallustius and Proculius belonged. He was a very fickle politician and had earned, from the rapidity with which he changed sides in the civil war, the nickname of *desultor*, a trick-rider in the circus who leapt from one horse to another. He became an intimate friend of Augustus.

The lost Blandinian MS. V. (see *Introd.* p. xxxvii) had *Gelli* for *Delli* in l. 4. This Gellius might be L. Gellius Publicola, who was consul B.C. 36 and was related to Messala Corvinus (see III. 21) a friend of Horace and a man distinguished both in politics and in literature.

Scheme. Preserve equanimity alike in prosperity and in adversity, Dellius. For you must die, whatever luck befalls you in life. Why waste the chances of pleasure that you have? You will soon have to leave the enjoyments that wealth offers and, whether rich or poor, you cannot avoid the day when death shall claim you.

This is the Epicurean supplement to the Stoicism of the Second Ode. Be not greedy after riches, says the Stoic, but enjoy yourself while you may, says the Epicurean.

Metre. Alcaic.

1. *aequam...arduus*. The 'even' mind and the 'up-hill task' are purposely contrasted.

3. *temperatam*. Kiessling regards this as adjectival: 'Keep the even mind which you have likewise checked' etc. But it is better to treat the stanza as two sentences, viz. *memento servare aequam* etc.: and *non secus (memento servare) temperatam* etc.

4. *moriture=cum moriturus sis*. Cf. I. 28. 6.

5. *seu...seu*, dependent on *moriture*= 'for you must die whether... or...'

6. *in remoto gramine*. Cf. *in reducta valle* I. 17. 17. Retirement

was essential to Horace's happiness. Cf. *Epode* 2, beginning *Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis* etc.

per dies festos probably means 'every holiday,' as *per autumnos* in II. 14. 15 and *per exactos annos* in III. 22. 6. *Dies festi* are the same as *dies feriati* and formed part of the *dies nefasti*, on which no legal business could be conducted. They are marked NP in the calendars (meaning perhaps *nefastus feriae publicae*) and there were between 60 and 70 such days in the year in Horace's time, besides the various *ludi*, which lasted many days together, especially in autumn. (Soltau, *Römische Chronologie*, p. 103.)

8. *interiore nota*, 'an old brand.' Each amphora in the *cella* was inscribed with the date of the vintage and other particulars about the wine. These are the *nota*. The older amphorae were further back, *interiores*, in the *cella* than the newer.

9. *quo*, 'to what purpose.' Cf. *Epist.* I. 5. 12 *quo mihi fortunam si non conceditur uti?*

alba, contrasting with the dark pine.

10. *amant*. Cf. *hic ames dici pater* I. 2. 50. The trees themselves delight in making life pleasant to us.

11. *quid...laborat*, 'why does the streamlet work so hard' etc. The point again is that all nature is taking trouble to charm us. Let us then respond to her invitation.

13. *brevis*, 'short-lived.' Cf. *breve lilium* in I. 36. 16.

15. *res*, 'fortune,' including not only money, but leisure and opportunity.

aetas, 'age,' i.e. youth.

16. *fila trium sororum* are equivalent to 'life.' The three Fates, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos, were imagined to spin one thread for each man's life. When Atropos cut it, the life stopped. Possibly, however, *res* is 'wealth,' *aetas* 'life' and *fila* 'fortune,' for a man's fortune was sometimes said to depend on the quality of his thread. Cf. Ben Jonson on Bacon:

'Whose even thread the Fates spin round and full
Out of their choicest and their finest wool.'

17. *salibus*, 'pasture-lands,' in which Romans took especial pride. Cf. *Epist.* II. 2. 177 *quid vici prosunt aut horrea quidve Calabris Saltibus adiecti Lucani, si melit Orcus Grandia cum parvis?*

domo, 'your town-house,' opp. to *villa* 'your country-house.'

21—24. The construction is *nil interest divesne (sis)* etc., *an moreris* etc.

21. *dives, prisco ab Inacho* are (as Kiessling says) both predicative to *natus*. *prisco ab Inacho* by itself means 'descended from ancient Inachus.' Cf. *Aeli vetusto nobilis ab Lamo* in III. 17. 1. The verb to this clause must be supplied from *moreris* in l. 23.

Inacho. The mythical first king of Argos and father of the Argive nation: cf. III. 19. 1.

23. *sub divo*, 'in the open air,' 'roofless.' Cf. III. 2. 5 and *sub Iove* in I. 1. 25.

morieris, 'you linger wearily,' waiting for death.

24. *victima*, probably vocative, like *moriture* in I. 4 and with the same sense, *cum victima sis*. For the sense cf. I. 28. 20 n.: for the case *praesidium* in II. 1. 13.

25. *eodem*, 'to the same place.'

cogimur, 'we are driven in a flock.' Cf. *nigro compulerit gregi* in I. 24. 18.

26. *versatur urna* refers to an ancient method of casting lots. Potsherds or pebbles (marked somehow or inscribed with names) were placed in a helmet or other vessel. The vessel was then violently shaken till one lot fell out. (See *Iliad* III. 316 and VII. 175.) Cf. III. 1. 16 *omne capax movet urna nomen*.

serius ocius, 'sooner or later.' Cf. *velim nolim*.

28. *cumbae*, dat. after *impositura*.

Ode IV.

To Xanthias, a Phocian, described in some MSS. as an *iatraliptes* or 'salve-doctor.' It is impossible to say whether the name is a pseudonym or belonged to a real person of Horace's or some earlier time.

Scheme. Be not ashamed, Xanthias, of loving a slave-girl. Achilles, Ajax and Agamemnon set you the example. Perhaps she is of noble birth. Her behaviour shows that she does not come from the lowest classes. Any way, she is pretty: though you need not be jealous of me for saying so.

The ode is clearly ironical.

Metre. Sapphic.

2. *Xanthia Phocœu*. The Latin adj. from *Phocis* is either *Phocensis* or *Phocius* or *Phocœus* or *Phocaicus*. The Greek form *Phocœus* (disyllable) does not seem to occur elsewhere in Latin. It is odd, too, that the man should be *addressed* by a title derived from his place of birth, though Horace often uses such titles in speaking of a third person: e.g. *Opuntiae frater Megyllae* in I. 27. 10. Ritter suggests that the *frater* of that passage is perhaps identical with the Xanthias of this, but if so, Xanthias should be a Locrian, not a Phocian.

prius, 'before you.'

insolentem, flushed with victory.

3. *Briseis* was the captive girl whom Agamemnon took away from Achilles. Hence arose that 'wrath of Achilles' which is the subject of the *Iliad*.

Wickham well points out the artful juxtaposition of words in these two stanzas: *insolentem serva—captivæ dominum—fessis leviora—Per-gama Graïs*.

niveo colore, with *movit* as abl. instr.

6. *Tecmessa* does not appear in Homer, but she has a leading part in Sophocles' tragedy *Ajax*.

7. *arsit* with love. Cf. *calet, tepebunt* (also with abl.) in I. 4. 19, 20.

8. *rapta*. Agamemnon carried away Cassandra, daughter of Priam, to Argos.

9. *barbarae*, in the Greek sense of 'foreign,' i.e. Trojan.

10. *Thessalo*, Achilles, who came from Phthia in Thessaly.

ademptus Hector, 'the loss of Hector.' Cf. note on *divulsus amor* in I. 13. 9.

11. *tradidit* is practically equivalent to *reliquit*. Kiessling quotes Ovid, *Mét.* IV. 337 *loca...haec tibi libera trado*.

leviora tolli, 'more easy of destruction.' Cf. *Introd.* p. xxiii.

12. *Pergama*, the citadel of Troy. The number of Greek words and names in these first three stanzas suggests that they are a very close translation from some Greek original.

13—20. These stanzas are, as Dr Postgate suggests, a humorous descending climax of which the steps are

(1) Her parents may be rich.

(2) At any rate, they are of royal lineage and have come down in the world.

(3) At least, she does not belong to the criminal classes.

To these the last stanza perhaps adds a fourth step:

(4) Anyway, she is tolerably pretty, though you need not be jealous of me on her account.

Here are four reasons for loving her, and if one will not do, another will.

13. *nescias an...beati*. 'You could not tell (if you enquired, or if you were asked) whether her parents are a credit to you by their wealth.' Possibly, however, *nescias* is concessive: 'granted that you don't know' etc. See Roby *L. G.* §§ 1621, 1622. *nescias an* has nothing to do with the idiomatic use of *nescio an*, 'I am inclined to think,' which use is entirely confined to the first person singular.

beati (predicative), 'wealthy': as in I. 29. 1.

14. *flavae*, 'fair-haired' as in III. 9. 19.

15. *regium certe genus*. It would seem that slave-girls in Rome always pretended that they were of noble birth in their own country.

Probably *genus* is accus. to *maeret*: 'she mourns a royal race and the fact that her gods are unkind,' cf. II. 9. 19—21 *cantemus Augusti tropaea Medumque flumen volvere* etc. But possibly we should supply *est* with *regium*. 'Her race is at any rate royal and mourns the cruelty of its gods,' who have allowed it to come down in the world. Another alternative, suggested by Kiessling, is to take *iniquas*, by a kind of zeugma, with both *genus* and *penates*: 'she mourns (the uselessness of) her royal birth and the unkindness of her family gods.' But such difficult Latin as this is unsuited to a playful poem.

17. *de sc. pl. dilectam.* *dilectam*, as Bentley suggests, retains much of its etymological sense of 'chosen' so that *de plebe* can be attached to it. 'Chosen for your love out of the miscreant crowd.'

20. *pudenda, sc. tibi.* For the abl. cf. *edite regibus* I. 1. 1.

21. *vultum*, 'looks.'

teretis, 'well-turned.' Cf. the note on *teretis plagas* in I. 1. 28.

22. *integer*, either 'spotless' and so 'innocent,' cf. I. 22. 1; or 'untouched' and so 'heart-whole,' cf. III. 7. 22.

fuge suspicari. Cf. *mitte sectari* I. 38. 3 n.

23. *trepidavit*, 'has made haste,' as if Horace himself was surprised at the flight of time: or 'has had hard work,' as if Horace were in feeble health.

24. *lustrum* was properly the purification with which the censors closed the quinquennial census. Hence years might be reckoned by *lustra*, and *lustrum* came to mean a period of five years.

As Horace was born Dec. 8, 65 B.C. this ode was written about the end of 25 B.C.

Ode V.

Scheme. Your Lalage is not yet old enough for love-making. She is but a child and wishes to sport with her playmates. But time will change her. Soon she will come to you of her own accord and you may love her more than ever you loved Chloris or Pholoe or Gyges.

Metre. Alcaic.

1—9. The comparison of a girl to a heifer or filly (as in III. 11. 9) was not unusual in ancient times. Ovid (*Her.* v. 117) speaks of Helen as *Graia iuvenca* and similarly Greek poets use *πῶρις*, *μόσχος*, *πῶλος*.

subacta cervice, 'with tamed neck.'

2. *munia comparis aequare*, 'to match the labours of a yoke-fellow' (Wickham), i.e. draw evenly with him. Cf. *ferre iugum pariter* in I. 35. 28.

5. *circa*, 'in and about.' Cf. I. 18. 2.

8. *vitulis*, 'calves,' younger than the *iuvenca*.

9. *tolle cupidinem* etc. The metaphor is suddenly changed to another equally familiar to Greek poets. Theocritus (II. 21) has both comparisons together: *μόσχω γαυροτέρα, φιαρωτέρα ὀμφακος ὠμᾶς* 'more skittish than a heifer, more shiny than an unripe grape.'

10. *immitis*, 'sour,' because unripe. Cf. *mitibus pomis*, *Epod.* 2. 18.

iam, 'in due time.' Cf. I. 4. 16, II. 20. 13.

12. *distinguet* etc. 'Motley autumn will stain the clusters dark with purple hue.'

Autumn is *varius* (as *mors* is *pallida*) because he makes the leaves

and fruits motley: so that *varius* is nearly equivalent to 'variegating.' (Cf. *Introd.* p. xxiv.) Some editors wish to take *varius purpureo colore* together, but this throws too much stress on *varius* and *autumnus* which are both in unemphatic positions.

distinguet means 'will set them off' against the leaves.

lividos by itself would mean 'dark-blue,' but here means only 'dark,' the specific colour being given by *purpureo*. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV. 274 *violae purpura nigrae*.

13. *iam te sequetur*. The metaphor of the *iuvencia* is resumed, as is shown by *proterva fronte* in l. 15.

ferox aetas, 'headstrong time.' Many edd. think it means 'her headstrong age,' but *aetas* must mean 'time' as nom. to *apponet* and *dempserit*.

14. *dempserit...apponet*. An illogical metaphor from the phases of the moon. The *days* themselves were regarded as added to the waxing moon and deducted from the waning moon. (Hence in Greece the last 10 days of the month were counted backwards.) So the years of youth were regarded as added till life is at the full, and the years of decline were regarded as deducted. Similarly in *Ars Poetica* 175 Horace speaks of *anni venientes* and *anni recedentes*.

Lalage's lover was obviously a man of middle age.

15. *proterva fronte petet*, 'with wanton forehead Lalage will butt her spouse' in play and without fear. Cf. *Aenecid* IX. 629 (*iuvenem qui iam cornu petat*) and the adj. *petulus*.

17. *dilecta*, i.e. *dilecta a te tantum quantum non fuit dilecta Pholoe* etc.

Pholoe, mentioned also in I. 33. 9 and III. 15. 7 (here along with Chloris). She was apparently not one of Horace's flames, nor was Chloris, so that he is probably not the middle-aged lover of Lalage.

fugax, 'froward.'

19. *pura*, 'unclouded.' Cf. *sole puro* III. 29. 45.

renidet, 'shines reflected.'

22. *miro sagacis*, a sort of superlative, 'the shrewdest visitors.'

falleret, 'would escape,' 'would be unnoticed by' (I. 10. 16).

23. *discrimen*, 'the difference' between Gyges and the girls. *obscurum*, with the ablative, 'obscured by.'

24. *ambiguo*, 'half-girlish' (Page).

Ode VI.

To Septimius, probably the same person for whom Horace wrote a letter of introduction (*Epist.* I. 9) to Tiberius and whom he describes as *fortem bonumque*.

Schemie. Septimius, dear friend who would go with me to savage

wilds, may I spend my declining years at Tibur or, if not there, at Tarentum, whither the rich soil and the warm winters attract me. Come there with me and you shall attend my death-bed.

The idea that the ode is playful, not pathetic, is developed in the notes on ll. 7, 21 and 23. It is observable that a similar ode of Catullus (11, beginning *Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli*) is certainly comic.

Metre. Sapphic.

1. **Gadis**, typical of remoteness: cf. II. 2. 10.

aditure=*qui aditurus esses*: cf. IV. 3. 20 *donatura, si libeat*.

2. **Cantabrum**. The Cantabri were a turbulent and savage tribe of N. Spain, who caused the Romans much trouble from B.C. 29 to B.C. 19 when Agrippa finally conquered them. Cf. III. 8. 22 and IV. 14. 41.

4. **aestuat**. Cf. *Syrtis aestuosas* I. 22. 5 n.

5. **Argeo p. colono**. Tiburnus or Tiburtus with his brothers (I. 18. 2 n.). For the dative cf. *Laconi regnata Phalantho* below, l. 11.

6. **senectae**, dative.

7. **modus**, 'end,' 'limit.' Cf. I. 16. 2 and *rapacis Orci fine* in II. 18. 30. The genitives *maris* etc. probably belong to *modus*, but *lasso* too might perhaps govern a gen. Cf. *fessi rerum* in *Aeneid* I. 178.

lasso. Some edd. take this seriously, as if Horace were ill and depressed and looked forward to an early death. But there are good reasons for thinking that the poem is merely playful, intended to mock the extravagant schemes of Septimius. Put shortly, the argument is as follows: 'Septimius, you would follow me to Gades or the Cantabri or Syrtes: but the journey to Tibur (a few miles) is quite enough of travelling and campaigning for me, for I am sick of them.' It is to be remembered that Horace was, at the time when this ode was published, only 41 (see *Introd.* p. xvii) and still far from *senecta*. The only dates when he was really weary of travelling and fighting were in B.C. 41 after Philippi and perhaps in B.C. 31 after Actium (*Introd.* p. xiii). If the ode had been written at either date, the allusion to *senecta* and approaching death would have been utterly absurd. But (like all the other odes) it was probably not written till B.C. 29 or later, when the Cantabri were in rebellion. Septimius, who wanted to see some military service (*Epist.* I. 9), had very likely asked Horace to join the expedition into Spain and to take him as a companion.

9. **unde**, i.e. from Tibur.

10. **pellitis ovibus**, dative after *dulce*. *pellitis* means 'clad in skins.' Varro (*de R. R.* II. 2) states that the sheep of Tarentum and Attica were so clad to keep their fleeces clean. Columella speaks of Tarentine sheep as *oves lectae*.

Galaesi, a river near Tarentum. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV. 126.

11. **Laconi Phalantho**. For the dat. cf. *regnata Cyro Bactra* in III. 29. 27.

Phalanthus, a Lacedaemonian, founded the colony of Tarentum

about B.C. 708 (after the first Messenian war). Hence *Lacedaemonium Tarentum* in III. 5. 56.

Horace again expresses his affection for Tibur and Tarentum in *Epist.* I. 7. 44 *nisi non tam regia Roma Quam vacuum Tibur placet aut imbellis Tarentum.*

13. *terrarum*, with *angulus*, 'nook.'

14. *Hymetto*. Hymettus is here put for 'honey of Hymettus' as in 16 *Venafro* for 'olives of Venafrum.' This is the figure called *comparatio compendiaria*, or abbreviated comparison, of which *ἄβρως Ἐπιδροσίου ὀφύας* 'hair like the Graces' (*Iliad* XVII. 51) is the stock example. There is another in II. 14. 28.

ridet. For the long final syllable, cf. I. 3. 26.

15. *decedunt*, 'give way to.' Cf. the similar use of *adsurgere* (with dat. 'to rise and make room for') in Verg. *Georg.* II. 98.

16. *baca*, 'the olive,' the noblest of berries.

Venafrum on the Via Latina, in the north of Campania. (*viridi* because of its olive-groves.)

Venafro is dat. as *certantem et uvam purpurae* in *Epode* 2. 20 shows. Cf. I. 1. 15 and 3. 13.

18. *brumas*. *bruma* is said to be a contraction of *brevima* (shortest day) an old superlative of *brevis*. Cf. *primus, summus*.

Aulon, a mountain in Calabria near Tarentum. This is an inversion of the same *comparatio compendiaria* that we saw in *Hymetto* l. 14, for *Aulon* means 'the grapes of Aulon.'

19. *Baccho*, dat. after *amicus*. Bacchus is called *fertilis*, because he makes the vines fertile. Cf. *varius Autumnus* II. 5. 12 n.

20. *invidet*, 'looks with envy on.'

21. *beatae*, 'favoured' with wealth and prosperity.

The emphasis on *ille* and *beatae* is important. Horace prefers *that* place and a *comfortable* stronghold to the wild fastnesses of Spain.

22. *arces*. Tarentum itself is situated on a rocky island. Its towering appearance is noticed by Verg. *Georg.* IV. 125 *sub Oebaliae turribus arcis* (al. *altis*).

1bl, emphatic, *there* and not in Spain.

23. *sparges*. This picture of Septimius weeping as he collects in an urn the warm ashes, all that remain of his deceased friend, is rather comic than pathetic. Probably Septimius, in offering to accompany Horace to Spain, had pointed out the advantage it would be to Horace to have a friend at hand in case of fatal accidents. Horace accepts his kind offer of assistance but appoints the funeral at Tarentum, not among the savages.

Horace had no superstitious dread of death. In his view, it was the end of pleasures and it was bound to come, and that was all that was worth saying about it. (See I. 4. 11; II. 9. 14. 18.) He wanted merely to live and die comfortably.

Ode VII.

Scheme. How did you get home again, Pompeius, oldest of my comrades? We were together at Philippi, but I escaped while you were dragged back into the storm of war. Well, here you are safe and sound, so let us celebrate the occasion with wine and feast.

Nothing more is known of this Pompeius. He probably returned to Rome about B.C. 29 when an amnesty was easily obtainable. Augustus says, in the *Mon. Ancyranum*, that after Actium, *omnibus superstitionibus civibus pepercit*.

Metre. Alcaic.

1. *tempus in ultimum*, 'peril of death.' Catullus similarly uses *supremum tempus* and *extremum tempus*.

3. *redonavit*, used again in III. 3. 33, but not found elsewhere in Latin.

Quiritem, either 'a full citizen,' *capite non deminutum*, or 'a man of peace.'

4. *caelo*, 'clime.'

6. *morantem diem*, 'the tedious day.' The working-day, *solidus dies*, is meant. See on I. 1. 20.

The carousals here spoken of probably belonged to Horace's student-days at Athens.

8. *malobathro*, with *nitentis*: 'wearing a garland on my hair glistening with Syrian unguent.'

malobathrum, a corruption of the Indian name *tamālapathram*, an ointment obtained from the leaves of a species of laurel.

9. *Philippos et celerem fugam*. There were two battles at Philippi, the first (in Oct. B.C. 42) when Brutus was victorious but Cassius was defeated and slain: the second (20 days later) when Brutus was routed.

10. *sensi*, 'I underwent.'

relicta non bene parmula. A comic reminiscence of Greek poets. In Greece, *ἀσπίδα ἀποβαλεῖν*, 'to throw away his shield' in panic flight, was the soldier's greatest disgrace: but Archilochus and Alcaeus and Anacreon all confess to having done it. (See, for instance, Herodotus v. 95: Liddell and Scott s. v. *ἀσπίς* and *Introd.* p. xxxix.)

parmula, a playful diminutive, 'my poor little shield' (Wickham).

11. *fracta*, sc. *est* as in II. 4. 15.

virtus in effect means 'braver men than I.'

minaces, 'those that threatened so high' (Wickham).

12. *turpe solum*, 'smirched their chins in the dust.' Cf. *Aeneid* XI. 418 *procubuit moriens et humum semel ore momordit*.

13. *Mercurius*. It was Mercury who conducted Priam unseen through the Greek camp (I. 10. 13-16), and Horace describes himself as *Mercurialis vir* (II. 17. 29).

14. *denso aere*, 'in a dense mist,' in which the gods usually wrapt those whom they wished to render invisible. Cf. *Aeneid* I. 411 *at Venus obscuro gradientis aere saepsit* and see *Iliad* III. 380, v. 344 etc.

15. *resorbens*, transitive, 'sucking you back.' For a similar metaphor cf. *Epist.* II. 2. 47 *civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma*.

16. *fretis*, dat. like *caelo tuleris* in III. 23. 1.

17. *ergo*, 'well, after all,' continuing some unspoken thought, such as 'but here you are safe.' For a pathetic use of *ergo* in similar sense, see I. 24. 5.

obligatam, usually said of the person bound by vows: as in II. 8. 5. *redde*, 'pay duly.' Cf. *rettulit* in II. 1. 28.

Iovi, to Jupiter, regarded as *Ζεύς σωτήρ*, the saviour of Pompeius.

19. *lauru*, the proper tree for a poet's garden.

nec, not *neu* (cf. I. 11. 2, II. 11. 4), because this is not a separate command, but a continuation of the first.

21. *levia*, polished. *ciboria*, large cups, shaped like the pods of the *colocasia* or Egyptian bean.

Massico. Cf. I. 1. 19.

22. *exple*, 'fill to the brim.' The command is addressed to a slave, as in I. 19. 13, II. 11. 18.

23. *conchis*. Mussel-shells, or bones like them, were used for holding ointments and other things, of which only a small quantity was usually required (*concha salis puri* in *Sat.* I. 3. 14).

quis, i.e. *quis puer?* addressed to the slaves. Cf. II. 11. 18, I. 19. 14.

24. *deproperare* (with *curat*). The *de-* is intensive: 'to prepare very quickly.' For the order of the words cf. *ore pedes tetigitque crura* in II. 19. 32 and the position of *facturus* in I. 22. 6.

aplo. Cf. I. 36. 16.

25. *Venus*, the best throw with the four knuckle-bones, when each showed a different number from the rest.

arbitrum bibendi, *συνπροσλαπχος*, whose duties were to regulate the strength and quantity of the wine. Cf. *regna vini sortiēre talis* in I. 4. 18.

Edonis, Thracians, whose capacity for toping has been often mentioned. See especially I. 36. 14. The Thracians were quarrelsome over their cups (I. 18. 9, 27. 2) but it is not this *insania* which Horace proposes to imitate.

28. *furere*. Cf. *insanire iuvat* III. 19. 18 and *dulce est desipere in loco* IV. 12. 28.

Ode VIII.

To Barine, a coquette. Some MSS. have the heading *Ad Iullam Barinen*, which some editors believe to be a miswriting of *Ad Iuliam Barinen*, while others think that *Iullam* is the blunder of some monk who thought that *ulia* in l. 1 was part of the lady's name. She is not

mentioned elsewhere. The name *Barine* (a Greek feminine) implies that she was a freedwoman from Barium in Apulia.

Scheme. I would believe you, Barine, if I saw that you were ever punished for your perjuries. But the gods merely laugh at them and the throng of your lovers is ever increasing.

Metre. Sapphic.

N.B. This ode is a conspicuous example of the nicety with which Horace places emphatic words at the beginning or end of the line in Sapphics.

1. *iuris pelerati*, 'oaths falsely sworn.' The expression is an invention of Horace's. *ius iurandum* is common enough for 'an oath,' but *ius iuratum* is not found.

3. *dente...ungul*. Here *nigro* evidently belongs to *ungui* as well as to *dente*, therefore *uno* belongs to *dente* as well as to *ungui*. The translation therefore is: 'If you were made less beautiful by one black tooth or one black nail.' The ablatives represent the measure. To take them as instrumental (*with* one black tooth etc.) would require stress on *nigro*, which has none. Some edd. render 'if you became black-toothed or less beautiful in one nail,' but there is a gross disparity in these punishments and besides, for this version too, *nigro* should be emphatic.

5. *crederem*, sc. *tibi*.

6. *votis* with *obligasti*. The *vota* are prayers for her own destruction, if she does not keep her promise.

7. *prodis*, 'walk abroad.' Cf. III. 14. 6.

8. *publica cura*, 'the general cynosure.' For *cura* cf. Verg. *Ecl.* x. 22 *tua cura*, *Lycoris*: and for *publica* Ovid *Met.* II. 35 where the sun is called *lux publica mundi*.

9. *expedit*, 'it positively does you good.'

opertos, 'buried.'

10. *fallere*, 'to deceive,' the person invoked being regarded as a judge. For oaths by a mother's ashes, cf. Propertius II. 20. 15 *ossa tibi iuro per matris et ossa parentis: Si fallo, cinis heu sit mihi uterque gravis*.

noctis signa, the stars. Cf. *Aeneid* VI. 458 *per sidera iuro*, *Per superos* etc.

13. *Venus ipsa*. Venus herself, who ought to protect your lovers, her votaries.

14. *simplices Nymphae*, 'the Nymphs, for all their guilelessness' (Wickham).

ferus et Cupido. Cupid, apparently, ought to be angry, because Barine is impervious to his shafts.

15. *ardentis*, 'red-hot.'

16. *cruenta*. The blood on the arrows has stained the whetstone.

17. *adde quod*, 'nay, more.'

tibi crescit, 'is growing up for your profit, is growing, I say, to be a fresh band of your slaves.'

18. *servitus* = *servi*, as *iuventus* often = *iuvenes*. The words *servitus nova* are predicative with the second *crescit*.

19. *implae* = *periurac*.

22. *senes parci* are anxious for their sons, because Barine leads them into extravagance.

24. *tua aura*, either 'the breeze that favours you' (cf. *incerta Cupidinis aura* in Ovid *Am.* 11. 9. 33) or 'the breeze of your favour' (cf. *popularis aura* in 111. 2. 20). The elaborate metaphor in 1. 5 supports the second version. Most editors take *aura* to mean 'the whiff of you,' a coarse expression and hardly congruous with *retardet*.

Ode IX.

To C. Valgius Rufus, an elegiac and epic poet who belonged to Maecenas' literary circle (*Sat.* 1. 10. 82). He is said to have been consul in B.C. 12.

Scheme. Winters and storms come to an end at last, Valgius. Why do you not make an end of weeping? Cease your lamentations and let us sing rather of the triumphs of Augustus.

Metre. Alcaic.

1. *hispidos*, 'squalid,' but made so by the *imbres*.

2. *Caspium*. It is evident from this passage and 11. 21-24 that the ode was written at a time when the Caspian and Armenia were a general subject of conversation in Rome. See the concluding note.

3. *inaequales*, probably 'gusty.' Many editors take the word transitively (*Introd.* p. xxiv) as 'making uneven,' 'roughening.' This sense, however, adds nothing to *rexant*.

4. *Armentis in oris*. Many of Antony's troops perished of cold during the expedition into Armenia of B.C. 35.

5. *Iners*, cf. *pigris campis* in 1. 22. 17.

7. *Gargani*. Mons Garganus was a thickly wooded promontory in Apulia.

laborant, 'groan' as in 1. 9. 3.

9. *tu semper*, strongly opposed to *non semper imbres* in l. 1.

urges, 'harp upon' is perhaps the nearest English equivalent. Cf. Propertius V. 11. 1 *desine, Paulle, meum lacrimis urgere sepulcrum*.

10. *Mysten*, a favourite boy-slave who had died.

Vespero surgente...fugiente solem. The expression is careless, for *Vesper* (the planet Venus), being very near the sun, does not rise in the evening or set in the morning. *surgente* must mean 'coming into view' and *fugiente* 'fading before.'

11. *amores*, 'yearnings.' The plural applies really to Valgius' love-poems.

13. *aevo*, 'lifetime' as in l. 12. 45, II. 2. 5.

functus. Nestor, king of Pylos, who was fabled to have lived three lifetimes (*Odyssey* III. 245).

14. *Antilochus* was slain by Memnon, while he was defending his father Nestor. The tale is not in the *Iliad*, but is mentioned in the *Odyssey* (IV. 187) and is told at length by Pindar (*Pyth.* VI. 28).

15. *impubem*, introduced, like *amabilem* in l. 13, to show that Nestor and Priam had the same reason for weeping that Valgius had.

parentes, Priam and Hecuba.

16. *Troilon*, slain by Achilles: '*infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli*,' *Aeneid* I. 475. His death was the subject of one of the paintings that Aeneas saw at Carthage.

17. *mollium querellarum*. For the gen. (imitated from Greek) cf. *abstineto irarum* III. 27. 69 and see *Introd.* p. xxii.

19. *nova Augusti tropaea*. This ode was certainly written in or after B.C. 27, when Octavian first (Jan. 17) received the cognomen of Augustus. *tropaea* means a triumphal monument, not a victory or triumph. See further below.

20. *Niphaten*, properly a mountain-range in Southern Armenia, containing the source of the Euphrates and Tigris. It may be called *rigidus* from its glaciers: but Vergil (*Georg.* III. 30) seems to have mistaken it for a river as Lucan and Juvenal certainly did. Probably Horace did too.

21. *Medumque flumen*, probably the Euphrates. For *Medus* cf. *Medus acinaces* I. 27. 5 and *Marsus aper* I. 1. 28.

The sense of *cantemus* is slightly altered here, for *cantemus tropaea* etc. and *cantemus flumen volvere vertices* etc. are not parallel constructions.

23. *Gelonos*, 'and how the Geloni roam on horseback within fixed bounds on narrower plains.' The *Geloni* were a Scythian tribe, related to the Cossacks of the Don.

24. *exiguus*, 'narrow' because *intra praescriptum*. For the abl. see II. 1. 12 n. and 7. 16.

Note on the Historical Allusions.

Those critics who think that the First Three Books of the Odes were published in B.C. 19 and not in B.C. 23 (*Introd.* p. xvii) rely much on this ode. They assume that the *nova tropaea* of Augustus refer to his recovery of the Roman standards from the Parthians in B.C. 20 and that the allusions to Niphates etc. refer to the expedition of Tiberius into Armenia in the same year.

There is, however, strong evidence that the reference is to events of B.C. 25. In that year (as we learn from Dion Cassius LIII. 25, 26) Augustus received some extraordinary honours. He had crushed (by his lieutenants) the Cantabri and the Salassi, an Alpine people. Also

M. Vinicius, having conquered certain Celtic tribes, surrendered the title of Imperator to Augustus. For these victories a triumph was offered to Augustus, but he refused it. The senate thereupon decreed that a triumphal arch should be erected in his honour near the Alps and that he should be allowed to wear the triumphal robes and crown on the first day of each year. The arch may have been exchanged for that more elaborate monument (finished B.C. 7 or 6) which was always called *Tropaea Augusti* (Pliny *H. N.* 111. 20. 136 and Ptolemy 111. 1) and was still existing in the Middle Ages at Turbia (the name is a corruption of Tropaea) in Monaco. (Prof. Mommsen, however, believes that an arch was really erected and that it stands at Aosta. But the inscriptions on the arch at Aosta are entirely lost and there is no means of knowing its origin. See *C. I. L.* v. pp. 797, 907 and Mommsen, *Res Gestae*³, p. 104.) However this may be, some monument was certainly projected in B.C. 25 and the formal language of *nova tropaea Augusti Caesaris* in Horace seems likely to refer to it. It should be added that, in B.C. 25, the temple of Janus was closed for the second time in the reign of Augustus and the fourth time in the history of Rome.

The precise meaning of the allusions to Armenia is not known, but there is evidence that important events took place in that part of the world in B.C. 25. There are extant coins bearing the inscription *Armenia Capta Aug. Imp. VIII.*, and Augustus was saluted *Imperator* for the eighth time in B.C. 25.

As to the Geloni, in the Monum. Ancyr. Augustus says (column v. 51-53) *nostram amicitiam ultro petierunt per legatos Bastarnae Scythaeque et Sarmatarum qui sunt citra fluvium Tanaim et ultra reges, Albanorumque rex et Hiberorum et Medorum*. These peoples are named in their geographical order from the Danube eastward across the Caucasus to Parthia. The Sarmatae are said to be identical with the Geloni. It happens that Orosius (vi. 21. 19) says that Augustus received an embassy of Scythians at Tarraco where he lay ill in B.C. 25, and it appears from the epitomes of Livy 134 and 135 that M. Crassus was fighting against the Bastarnae, Moesi and other peoples in their neighbourhood in B.C. 26 and 25.

On other allusions to the *tropaea* in literature of this date (e.g. Verg. *Georg.* 111. 30-32 and Propertius iv. 8. 34) see *Classical Review* vi. p. 303. It is noticeable that the next ode is addressed to Varro, whose victory over the Salassi was one of the great events of B.C. 25. This thread of connexion between the odes is quite Horatian (*Introd.* p. xxxii).

Ode X.

To L. Licinius Murena, adopted by A. Terentius Varro and therefore properly called A. Terentius Varro Murena. By this adoption, he became brother to Terentia, wife of Maecenas, and to Proculeius (named in 11. 2. 5). He conquered the Salassi, an Alpine tribe, in B.C. 25 and founded the colony of Augusta Praetorianorum (now Aosta). In B.C. 22 he conspired against Augustus with Fannius

Caepio and was therefore put to death. Dion Cassius specially mentions his insolence, at which Horace perhaps is hinting in this ode.

Scheme. Steer a middle course, Licinius, and study the golden mean. Those that stand highest fall with the greatest crash. The wise man looks forward to a change of fortune and is neither weighed down by adversity nor puffed up with prosperity.

Metre. Sapphic.

2. **urgendo**, 'pushing out into the high seas.'

3. **premendo**, 'hugging the dangerous shore.'

5. **auream**. The epithet may be applied to anything precious, perfect, exquisite: e.g. *mores aurei* in IV. 2. 23, *tempus aureum* (the golden age) in *Epod.* 16. 64: *aurea dicta* in Lucretius etc.

mediocritatem, 'the mean,' τὸ μέσον, a favourite word with Aristotle, who contends (for instance) that any virtue is a mean between two vices, as bravery between cowardice and foolhardiness.

6. **obsoleti**, 'worn out,' 'ruinous.'

7. **invidenda**, i.e. likely to provoke jealousy, as in III. 1. 45.

8. **sobrius**. For the contrary, cf. *fortunaque dulci ebria* in I. 37.

II.

10. **casu**, 'crash.' The sentiment is imitated from Herodotus VII. 10. 5 where Artabanos warns Xerxes in similar terms. Horace gives no such warning against the opposite extreme, viz. of meanness.

13. **infestis, secundis**, dat. of *infesta, secunda* neut. plur.

14. **alteram**, 'the contrary.'

15. **informis**, properly 'shapeless.' Winter is so called because it smothers every outline in snow. Cf. Vergil *Georg.* III. 354 *iacet aggeribus niveis informis et alto Terra gelu*. See also *Introd.* p. xxiv.

reducit, 'brings in due order.' For *re-* see II. 1. 28 n.

17. **si male nunc**, sc. *est*. Cf. *bene est* III. 16. 43.

olim, 'anon': for *ollim* adv. from *olle*, the old form of *ille*. For the future tense cf. *Aeneid* I. 203 *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit*.

18. **quondam**, 'sometimes,' as in *Aeneid* II. 367 *quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus*. The adv. *quondam* is related to *quidam* as *quom* or *cum* to *qui*.

citharae, 'the slumbering muse of his lyre.' The objection to *cithara*, the reading of the best MSS., is, as Kiessling says, either that *Musam*=Apollo's muse, as if Apollo were a mere mortal, or else that silence is the normal condition of the muse.

20. **tendit**, 'stretches' i.e. aims. Cf. *sagittas tendere* I. 29. 9. The arrows of Apollo, according to Homer (*Iliad* I.), caused pestilence. *tendere* might perhaps mean 'to bend' (i.e. to string). This meaning is given by some edd. to *tendere barbiton* in I. 1. 34.

21. **rebus angustis** (abl. abs.) 'in straits of fortune' (Wickham), referring both to poverty and difficulty. Cf. *res angusta domi* (Juvenal III. 165) and the noun *angustiae*.

animosus full of *animi*, i.e. 'spirited.'

22. **appare**, 'show yourself.'

23. **contrahes**, 'you will take a reef in.'

vento nimium secundo, instrum. abl. with *turgida*.

Note.

The following quaint version of this ode was addressed by the Earl of Surrey to Sir Thomas Wyatt. It was printed in 1557 and is the earliest known translation of Horace into English verse.

'Of thy life, Thomas, this compass well mark:
Not aye with full sails the high seas to beat;
Ne by coward dread, in shunning storms dark,
On shallow shores thy keel in peril freat (damage).

Whoso gladly halseth (embraceth) the golden mean,
Void of dangers advisedly hath his home;
Not with loathsome muck as a den unclean,
Nor palace-like, whereat disdain may glome (scowl).

The lofty pine the great wind often rives;
With violenter sway fall turrets steep;
Lightnings assault the high mountains and clives (cliffs).
A heart well stay'd, in overthwartes deep,

Hopeth amends: in sweet, doth fear the sour.
God that sendeth, withdraweth winter sharp.
Now ill, not aye thus: once Phoebus to low'r,
With bow unbent, shall cease and frame to harp

His voice; in strait estate appear thou stout;
And so wisely, when lucky gale of wind
All thy puft sails shall fill, look well about;
'Take in a reef: haste is waste, proof doth find.'

Ode XI.

To Quinctius Hirpinus, of whom nothing is known. Possibly *Epist.* i. 16 is also addressed to him.

Scheme. Dismiss thoughts of politics and business, Quinctius. Our youth is waning fast: why waste it on insoluble problems? It is better to lie in the shade and drink and listen to songs.

Metre. Alcaic.

1. **Cantaber.** The date is probably B.C. 25, when Augustus was called into Spain by a rising of the Cantabri.

Scythes. The reference is not now understood. See the last note on ii. 9.

2. **Hadria divisus oblecto.** This is added to show the remoteness of the Scythian and so, by implication, of the Cantabrian. *oblecto* means 'lying in the way.'

3. **remittas**, 'drop,' 'leave off.'

4. **nec**, cf. I. 11. 2 n.

trepides, 'be anxious' as in III. 29. 32 and perhaps II. 4. 23. The original notion of 'hurry' accounts for *in u um*.

in usum. *aevi* is objective gen. 'to make good use of a lifetime that needs so little' (for its proper use), cf. *purpurarum usus* in III. 1. 43 and Cicero (*Acad.* 1. 6. 22) *cetera ad virtutis usum idonea*.

5. *aevi*, 'lifetime' as in II. 9. 13.

6. **levis**, 'beardless' and so 'sleek,' opposed to *arida canities* 'wizen old age.' Cf. *levis Agyieus* in IV. 6. 28.

8. **facilem**, 'ready,' 'easily wooed.' The phrase is repeated in III. 21. 4.

10. **vernīs**, emphatic: 'flowers have not always the same glory that they have in spring.' For **honor** cf. *Epod.* 11. 6 (December) *silvis honorem decutit*.

rubens, predicative: 'with the same ruddy face.' Vergil (*Georg.* 1. 431) says *vento semper rubet aurea Phoebus*, and apparently Horace means that storms pass, even as the spring passes.

12. **consiliis**, a good example of the construction ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (*Introd.* p. xxv), for **consiliis** may be taken either with *minorem* or with *fatigas*. Thus (1) 'Why do you weary your little mind with plans reaching far into futurity?' and (2) 'Why do you weary your mind unequal to the fatigue of plans reaching far into futurity?' are possible translations. *Minorem*, of course, means *imparem* 'overtasked,' 'too small.' *aeternis* does not mean 'everlasting,' but 'lasting an *aevum*' (i.e. a whole lifetime).

14. **sic**, 'just as we are.' **temere** 'without any fuss.' Cf. Gk οὕτως εἰκῇ (Plato *Gorgias*, 506 D).

rosa, 'in garlands.'

15. **canos**. Horace, who was not more than 40 when this ode was written, was *praeccanus* 'white before his time.' (See *Introd.* p. xv.) The epithet gives special point to *dum licet* 'while we may,' for white hairs remind us that life is short.

17. **Euhius** a name of Bacchus, derived from the cry εὐοῖ, *euhoe*, of his worshippers. Cf. I. 18. 9 and II. 19. 5.

18. **edacis**, 'carking.' Cf. *mordaces sollicitudines* I. 18. 4.

quis puer. For the sudden address to the slaves cf. II. 7. 23. **ocius**, quicker than his fellows, 'quickest.'

19. **restinguet**, 'will allay.'

ardentis, 'heating.'

20. **praetereunte lympa**, 'with water from the brook.'

23. **incomptum...nodum**, cf. III. 14. 21.

Lacaenae more. Propertius (IV. 13 (14). 28) says that, in Sparta, *est neque odoratae cura molesta comae*. Cf. art. *Coma* in Smith's *Dic. of Antiq.* 3rd Ed.

Ode XII.

To Maecenas, for whom see I. 1 and *Introd.* p. xiii.

Scheme. You would not like the stirring history of our race or the feats of heroes to be told in lyric verse, Maecenas. The exploits of Caesar, too, you can tell yourself better in prose. No: my theme shall be the beauty and constancy and grace of Licymnia, whom you would not exchange for all the wealth of Orient. Cf. I. 6.

Metre. Fourth Asclepiad (*Introd.* p. xxx).

1. *nolis*, 'you would not wish.'

longa...Numantiae. Numantia, a stronghold of the Celtiberi in Spain, resisted the Romans for 10 years, but was ultimately taken by the younger Scipio in B.C. 133. Many of the inhabitants killed themselves rather than surrender.

2. *Siculum mare.* The reference is to the battles of Mylae (B.C. 260), Ecnomus (B.C. 256), and the Aegatian islands (B.C. 241) in the first Punic war.

4. *aptari*, 'to be set to the soft strains of the lute.'

5. *Lapithas*, cf. I. 18. 8.

nimium mero, 'made insolent with wine,' cf. *rebus secundis nimii* in Tacitus *Hist.* IV. 23. *nimius* literally means 'too big' and so 'puffed up.'

6. *Hylaeum*, one of the Centaurs who made a riot at the marriage of the Lapith Peirithous. Vergil also (*Georg.* II. 457) names him as *Lapithis cratere minantem*.

Herculea manu, cf. I. 3. 36 n.

7. *Telluris iuvenes*, the giants who tried to scale Olympus and whom the gods could not conquer without the help of a mortal. For this reason, Zeus asked for the assistance of Hercules.

unde=a quibus: cf. I. 12. 17 and I. 28. 28.

periculum gov. by contremuit. Cf. *Aeneid* III. 648 *sonitumque pedum vocemque tremesco*.

9. *Saturni veteris*, 'the shining halls of ancient Saturn' doubtless became the abode of Jupiter, but the expression suggests that Horace has made some confusion between the Titanomachia and the Gigantomachia. Saturn (or Kronos) with the Titans fought against Jupiter. After the deposition of Saturn, Jupiter fought against the giants.

tuque, 'and you yourself, Maecenas.' Servius (on Verg. *Georg.* II. 42) states that Maecenas wrote a history of Augustus, but we know nothing of it. For *-que* coupling a positive to a negative statement cf. I. 27. 16, II. 20. 4.

pedestribus historiis, 'prose,' imitated from the Greek *πρὸς λόγος*.

11. *mellius*, 'better' than I could in verse.

per vias, 'through the streets' of Rome, in a triumph.

13. *dulcis* with *cantus*, accus. plur.

Licymniae. Undoubtedly Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, is meant. Hence *dominae* 'my lady,' just as Maecenas is called *rexque paterque* in *Epist.* I. 7. 37.

14. **lucidum fulgentis**, 'flashing.' For the adv. cf. *Introd.* p. xxiv.

15. **bene** with *fidum*, 'wholly loyal.'

17. **quam nec dedecult**, a litotes for 'who can with exquisite grace.'

ferre pedem, 'swing her foot in the dance.' **choris** refers to dancing in private houses.

18. **certare loco** apparently means 'join in a rivalry of wit.' Cf. in Sallust (*Cat.* 25) the character of Sempronia who was *literis Graecis atque Latinis docta: psallere et saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae: ...posse versus facere, iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci*.

dare bracchia, 'join hands with.' The graceful movement of arms and hands was, to the ancients, a great charm of dancing.

19. **nitidis**, 'in sumptuous attire.' Cf. III. 24. 20.

sacro die. It is not clear what festival is meant. The *Matronalia* on March 1st were celebrated by matrons and virgins only. The festival was founded in honour of Juno Lucina, but it appears from Horace (*Carm. Saec.* 15) and from Catullus (34. 13) that Juno Lucina was identified with Diana. But virgins and matrons danced together at other festivals (e.g. the *Hilaria* on March 25th) and may have done so at the festival of Diana held on the Ides of August at her temple on the Aventine.

20. **Dianae celebris.** The epithet belongs to the temple rather than to the goddess: 'the sacred day when Diana's temple is thronged.' So Ovid has *celeberrima fontibus Ide* and *celeberrimus ilice lucus*.

21. **tu**, emphatic: in effect, 'do not *you yourself* think her a worthy theme for any poet?'

quae, 'the wealth which.'

Achaemenes, ancestor of the Kings of Persia, whose wealth was proverbial (cf. III. 9. 4). *Achaemenium costum* means 'Persian frankincense' in III. 1. 44.

22. **Mygdonias opes**, i.e. the wealth of Midas, who was a native of Mygdonia in Macedon and migrated to Phrygia. There was one Mygdon, a king of Phrygia, named in *Iliad* III. 18, but *Mygdonias opes* probably means 'the wealth of the Mygdonians,' cf. III. 16. 41.

23. **permutare**, 'take in exchange' with instr. abl. of thing given. See notes on I. 16. 25 and 17. 2.

24. **Arabum domos.** The wealth of Arabia was also proverbial: cf. *Arabum gazae* in I. 29. 1 and *thesauri Arabum* in III. 24. 2.

25. **detorquet**, 'turns her neck' but turns away her face.

26. **facili saevitia**, an *oxymoron*. *facili* means 'easily overcome.' Cf. *facilem somnum* II. 11. 8.

27. **poscente.** The usual renderings are either: (1) *poscente*

abl. abs. *te* being omitted—'when you ask': or (2) *poscente* gov. by *magis*, 'more than the asker.' The second is the more probable and is generally preferred, but it seems an awkward compliment. Hence Schütz proposes that *poscente* = a *poscente*.

gaudeat, subj. because *quae* is equivalent to *quod ea* 'because she prefers.'

28. *rapere occupet*, 'is the first to snatch.' Cf. I. 14. 2.

Ode XIII.

To a tree which, by its fall, nearly killed the poet.

Scheme. He was a rascal that planted thee and reared thee, to murder thy innocent owner. We are all of us content to guard against one form of death, while we neglect all the other dangers that beset us. How narrowly I escaped being sent suddenly to Proserpine and Pluto and the ghosts of the departed. I should have found Alcaeus and Sappho charming them all with their noble poesy.

The escape here commemorated is mentioned also in II. 17, III. 4 and III. 8. It happened apparently on the 1st March (III. 8. 1), but the year is not certain. It seems likely, from the allusions to Medes, Cantabri and Scythians, that III. 8 (which was written on the first anniversary of the accident) was written either in B.C. 28 or about the same time as II. 9, i.e. early in B.C. 24.

Metre. Alcaic.

1. *nefasto die*, 'a black day,' one of the *dies atri* or *relligiosi* (such as the second day of the month) on which it was unlucky to begin any undertaking.

2. *quicumque primum*, sc. *posuit*.

sacrilega, 'impious.' There was no impiety in rearing the tree but the tree was accursed because the hand that reared it was that of an impious man. In effect 'It was a black day when you were planted, and an impious wretch that reared you.'

3. *in perniciem*, 'to be the destruction.' Cf. *iuvenescit in mea vota* IV. 2. 56.

4. *pagi*, 'parish' or commune. Horace's farm apparently lay in the *pagus* of Mandela (*Epist.* I. 18. 105).

5. *crediderim*, 'I could believe.' Roby *L. G.* § 1540, quoting, among other instances, *Ciceronem cuicumque Graecorum fortiter opposuerim* from Quintilian.

6. *fregisse cervicem*, by hanging or garrotting. Cf. Sallust *Cat.* 55 *frangere gulam laqueo*.

penetralla, 'his domestic shrine,' i.e. the place where the household gods stood, in the *atrium*.

8. *hospitis*, 'his guest.'

Colcha, cf. *Italum robur* below and *Maura unda* in II. 6. 3. *venena Colcha* are such as Medea, the Colchian, used. Cf. *Epod.* 17. 35.

10. *tractavit*, cf. *Epod.* 3. 8. The verb is literal with *venena* but metaphorical with *nefas*. Wickham compares I. 15. 12 *currusque et rabiem parat*.

11. *triste lignum*, 'surly' or 'ill-omened log.'

caducum, 'you that were ready to fall.'

13. *homini*, 'mankind.'

14. *in horas* = *in singulas horas*, 'from hour to hour' or 'every hour' (as in *Sat.* II. 7. 10).

Bosphorum, called *insanientem* from its storminess in III. 4. 30.

15. *Thynus*, i.e. Bithynian, as in III. 7. 3.

ultra, in the Aegean Sea, for instance, or the *Carpathium pelagus* (cf. I. 35. 8).

17. *miles*, sc. *Romanus* or *Italicus*.

sagittas et fugam Parthi, a hendiadys for 'the arrows of the fleeing Parthian,' alluding to the Parthian habit of turning round to shoot. Cf. *versis animosum equis Parthum* I. 19. 11.

18. *catenas*, cf. I. 29. 5. Fetters for captives were part of the equipment of a Roman army.

19. *robur*, 'steadiness.' It is true that *robur* often means the Mamertine prison in Rome, but the adj. *Italicum* is unsuitable to this meaning.

improvisa, predicative = unexpectedly.

letī vis, 'the swoop of death.'

20. *rapuit rapietque*, cf. IV. 2. 38 and *haec seges ingratos tulit et feret omnibus annis*, *Epist.* I. 7. 21.

gentis, 'mankind,' the Bithynian, the Italian and the Parthian alike. Cf. I. 3. 28.

21. *furvae*, 'dark.' The epithet belongs properly to *regna*.

23. *sedes discriptas*, 'separate abode.' *discriptas* is a quaint use of the technical term for apportioning land. Cf. *Cic. Cat.* I. 4. 9 *discripsisti urbis partis ad incendia*.

24. *querentem*. The amorous elegy was called *querella* in Latin, as in II. 9. 18.

25. *Sappho* etc. Wickham well remarks that the lyric poet would look first for Sappho and Alcaeus, "as Socrates (Plato *Apol.* 41) imagines himself looking for Palamedes and Ajax and other victims of unjust judgments."

26. *plenius*, 'with fuller note,' a metaphor from singing with full lungs, *plena voce* (Verg. *Georg.* I. 388). With *sonantem* (transitive) cf. *sonari* in *Epod.* 17. 40.

aureo, 'noble.' Kiessling connects *aureo Alcae plectro* 'Alcaeus of the noble quill.'

27. *dura navis*. (On the rhythm, see *Introd.* p. xxviii.) Kiessling regards *dura* as equivalent to a noun, and *mala* in 28 as a special

epithet applied only to the *dura fugae*, because they involve disgrace. It is much more natural to regard *mala* as the noun and *dura* as the epithet. For *navis* and *belli mala* cf. I. 32. 6, 7 and for *fugae* II. 7. 10 n.

29. **sacro**, 'religious,' a silence such as attends the ministration of the priest. Cf. III. 1. 1-4.

30. **magis**, constructed ἀπὸ κοινού (see *Introd.* p. xxv) with *densum* and *bibit aure*. The throng is more crowded, the listeners more eager, about Alcaeus.

31. **exactos tyrannos**, alluding to the overthrow of Myrsilus and Pittacus, tyrants of Mytilene. See on I. 32. 5.

32. **densum umeris**, cf. *densum trabibus nemus* in Ovid *Metam.* XIV. 360.

33. **ubi**, 'seeing that.'

stupens with abl. 'astounded at,' 'bewitched with.'

34. **belua centiceps**, i.e. Cerberus, the watchdog of Hades. He is usually represented with three heads only, but Horace had apparently Pindar's authority for giving him a hundred. Horace himself adopts the other form in II. 19. 31.

36. **Eumenidum**, dependent on *capillis*. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV. 482 *caeruleos implexae crinibus angues Eumenides*.

37. **Prometheus**. Horace alone assigns Prometheus to Tartarus (again in II. 18. 34). In Aeschylus, a mountain in the Caucasus is the scene of Prometheus' punishment.

Pelops parens, Tantalus. For the mythological allusions here cf. III. 11. 13-24 and *Epod.* 17. 65 sqq. A different catalogue is selected in II. 14.

38. **laborem decipitur**. (See critical note.) *decipere laborem* is an expression parallel to *fallere curam* and *fallere laborem* 'to beguile a weary task' (*Sat.* II. 2. 12 and 7. 114). *decipi laborem* seems to be possible only if *decipi* is taken in middle or reflexive sense = *decipere sibi laborem*. Cf. *purgor bilem* in *Ars Poet.* 302. For the sing. verb cf. *regat* in I. 3. 3, *cogitet* in II. 11. 2 etc.

39. **Orion**, the wild huntsman killed by Artemis (III. 4. 71).

40. **timidos**. *fugaces* is the epithet in IV. 6. 33. *lynx* is fem. in Vergil (*Georg.* III. 164).

Ode XIV.

To one Postumus, of whom nothing is known and who is perhaps an imaginary person. It is unlikely, however, that Horace would call an imaginary person *amice* (l. 6) and it is possible that this is the same Postumus to whom Propertius addressed an elegy (IV. 12. 15) and who seems to have gone to Asia with Augustus in B.C. 20.

Scheme. Time moves quickly, Postumus, and death is approaching steadily, inevitably. Guard ourselves as we may, we are doomed to

die at last, and when we die, we must leave all our dearest delights and treasures.

Metre. Alcaic.

1. *fugaces*, predicative 'in steady flight.'

Postume, Postume. The repetition is pathetic: cf. *Ilion, Ilion* III. 3. 18 and *occidit, occidit* IV. 4. 70.

2. *labuntur*, cf. Ovid *Fasti* VI. 771 *tempora labuntur tacitisque senescimus annis*.

pietas, 'piety' in the sense of strict observance of religious duties.

4. *indomitae*, i.e. 'indomitable,' ἀδάμαστος Ἀλδης (*Iliad* IX. 158).

5. *non*, sc. *adferat*.

trecenis tauris, i.e. with three hecatombs. Livy (XXII. 10) mentions an occasion when such a sacrifice was offered.

6. *illacrimabilem*, unable to weep, 'tearless,' 'hard-eyed,' cf. *flebilis* 'tearful' in II. 9. 9. (But passively 'unwept' in IV. 9. 26.)

7. *ter amplum*, 'with three huge bodies,' τρισώματον. Cf. Lucretius V. 28 *tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai*.

8. *Tityos*, another monster whose body covered nine *iugera* in Tartarus (*Aeneid* VI. 596). Horace alludes to him often: e.g. *incontinentis nec Tityi iecur Reliquit ales* III. 4. 77.

tristi compescit unda, 'imprisons with his gloomy stream.' Cf. *nec Stygia cohibebor unda* II. 20. 8. The Styx encompassed Hades.

10. *terrae munere vescimur*, 'who feed on the fruits of the earth': Homer's οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἐδούσιν (*Iliad* VI. 142).

11. *enaviganda*, 'to be crossed once for all.' When we are embarked on Charon's boat, there is no return.

reges, rich men, 'princes of the earth.' Cf. I. 4. 14. For the sentiment cf. II. 3. 17-28.

13. *carebimus*, 'we shall avoid' as in II. 10. 6, 7.

14. *Hadriae*, I. 3. 15, III. 3. 5. *fractis* refers to the dashing of the waves on the rocks.

15. *per autumnos*, 'every autumn': cf. II. 3. 6, III. 22. 6.

16. *corporibus* with *nocentem*. For the dangerous climate of Rome in autumn cf. *Sat.* II. 6. 18 (*nec me perdit*) *plumbeus Auster Autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae*. Horace retired to his Sabine estate in autumn: I. 17. 17.

18. *Cocytus* ('the river of lamentation') properly an outflow of the Styx. *errans* in effect 'winding.'

Danai genus, the Danaids, who murdered their husbands, III. 11. 23 sqq.

19. *damnatus laboris*. The gen. seems to be imitated from *capitis* in the common expressions *capitis damnare, absolvere* etc.

longi=eterni as III. 11. 38.

21. *linquenda*, contrasted with *visendus* in 17.

placens, 'dear,' 'beloved.'

23. *invisas cupressos*. The cypress is hateful because it is *funeris* (*Epod.* 5. 18), associated with funerals. A branch of cypress was placed over the door of a house in which a dead person lay; and pyres were surrounded with cypress boughs. (Servius on *Aeneid* III. 64, VI. 216.)

24. *brevem*, 'short-lived' in comparison with the trees. Cf. II. 3. 13.

25. *Caecuba*, a very choice wine, cf. I. 20. 9. The plural seems to mean wines of different vintages, as we might say 'ports' or 'sherries.'

dignior, 'more deserving than you are,' because he drinks the wine that you lock up so jealously. For the sentiment, Orelli quotes Ecclesiastes ii. 18 'Yea, I hated all my labour which I had taken under the sun: because I should leave it unto the man that shall be after me' etc.

27. *pavimentum*, the marble floor of the dining-room. This would be stained either with spilt wine or with wine spat out (*pytisma*) after mere tasting. Cf. Juvenal XI. 175 *Lacedaemonium pytismate lubricat orbem*, where the *Lac. orbis* also means a marble pavement.

superbo, 'lordly.'

28. *pontificum* etc. Another *comparatio compendiaria* for 'better than (the wine of) pontifical feasts.' See on II. 6. 14. The feasts of *pontifices* and other priestly colleges, such as the *Salii*, were famous. Cf. *Saliaribus dapibus* in I. 37. 2-4.

Ode XV.

Scheme. The princely dwellings and pleasure-gardens and fishponds of our time leave scarce space enough for homely crops of corn and olives and grapes. Our ancestors would not have permitted this. Their rule was thrift in private life, magnificence in the service of the state.

The ode is regarded by Kiessling as a fragment which Horace originally intended to use somewhere in the grand series III. 1-6, but for which he did not there find a suitable place. Similar complaints of the excessive luxury of the times are found in Sallust (*Catiline* 12, 13) and in a letter of Tiberius to the senate quoted by Tacitus (*Ann.* III. 53). The ode was probably written in B.C. 28, when Augustus, as consul with *censoria potestas*, purged the senate, and attempted other social reforms and restored 82 dilapidated temples in Rome.

Metre. Alcaic.

1. *iam*, 'presently' as in II. 5. 13.

regiae, 'princely,' 'fit for a king.'

2. *moles*, 'piles': cf. III. 29. 10 *molem propinquam nubibus arduis*.

latius extenta, 'vaster than the Lucrine lake.'

3. *visentur*, 'will be visited': i.e. 'will be sights to see' (Wickham).

Lucrino. The Lucrine lake was a famous lake in Campania close to the sea shore. Agrippa pierced the intervening bank, so as to turn the lake into a harbour.

platanus caelebs, 'the bachelor plane,' so called because vines were not 'wedded' to it (i.e. trained upon it), as they were to elms and poplars. See IV. 5. 30 *et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores*: *Epod.* 2. 9 *adulta vitium propagine Altas maritat populos*. The plane-tree was a recent importation from Greece or Asia.

5. *tum*, either 'next' or 'then,' when the earth is covered with huge villas and fish-ponds.

6. *myrtus*, nom. plur. Cf. *Paphiae myrtus* in Verg. *Georg.* II. 64. *omnis* 'of every kind.' *copla narium* 'food for the nostrils.'

7. *olivētis*, abl. of place: 'in olive-groves that used to be fertile to their former owner.'

9. *spissa ramis*, cf. *densum umeris* in II. 13. 32.

laurea, 'laurel-bush.' The word is properly an adj. and usually means 'a branch of laurel' as in IV. 2. 9.

10. *ictus*, sc. *solis*, as *fervidos* explains. The point is that formerly trees were stripped to admit the sun to the vines and olives: nowadays, the sun is excluded.

12. *auspiciis*, 'under the guidance of Romulus and bearded Cato.' Kiessling points out that *auspiciis* refers especially to Romulus the king, while *veterum norma* refers especially to Cato the censor (ob. B.C. 149) who, in his *De Re Rustica*, published a treatise on agriculture. *intonsus* only means *antiquus*, *priscus* (III. 21. 11), 'old-fashioned.' The Romans did not shave at all before B.C. 300, and Scipio Africanus Major is said to have been the first who shaved regularly. So in Juvenal IV. 103 *barbatus rex* means a 'simple old king.' Cf. also I. 12. 41 *incomptis Curium capillis*.

13. *illis*, sc. *veteribus*.

census, 'list of property.' *brevis*, 'short' (Kiessling).

14. *commune*, τὸ κοινόν, 'the public wealth.'

decempedis privatis. The *decempeda pertica* was the surveyor's measuring-rod, our 'rod, pole or perch.' The point of '*private* measuring-rods' is that, in old days, *porticus* were always *publicae*: now, they are built for private use.

15. *metata*, passive, as *modulate* in I. 32. 5.

opacam excipiebat Arcton, 'lay open to the shady north': i.e. away from the sun, which is always in the south.

17. *fortuitum caespitem*, 'a handy turf,' apparently as a material for building (cf. *tuguri congestum caespite culmen*, Verg. *Ecl.* I. 68).

18. **oppida**, perhaps plur. for sing., 'the town' i.e. Rome.

19. **iubentes**, 'though they commanded.'

20. **novo saxo**, 'fresh-cut stone.' The two ablatives *publico sumptu* and *novo saxo*, both qualifying *decorare*, are ingeniously separated.

Ode XVI.

To Grosphus, doubtless the same as Pompeius Grosphus, whom Horace strongly recommends as an honest man (*Epist.* I. 12. 22) to his friend Iccius. The expression *Siculae vaccae* in l. 33 and the fact that Iccius was in Sicily when the Epistle was written, show that Grosphus had estates in that island. He seems to have complained to Horace either of the cares of office or of the anxiety of a contested election.

Scheme. All men pray for peace, a blessing that cannot be won by any riches. For cares often haunt the great and are often absent from the humble. What is the use of creating anxieties for ourselves and then trying to avoid them? Let the mind, when it is happy, avoid thoughts of the future and let it accept adversity with a smile. There is no lot which has not its bitterness. You are rich (but harassed by anxiety): I am poor, but I have my vein of poesy and a fine contempt for the malicious mob.

Metre. Sapphic.

1. **otium**, cf. I. 1. 15-17 *luctantem Icaris fluctibus Africum Mercator metuens otium et oppidi Laudat rura sui*. The word *otium* is used in different senses by the man of action and the philosopher. To the latter it means ἀραξία, 'peace of mind.'

2. **prensus** = *depressus*, 'caught,' 'overtaken.' Either the sailor or the merchant is meant.

3. **certa**, 'sure-guiding.' Cf. Tibullus I. 9. 10 *ducunt instabiles sidera certa rates*.

5. **bello furiosa**, 'raging with war' i.e. where war rages. There was a campaign in Thrace for which M. Licinius Crassus received a triumph in July B.C. 27; but it would appear, from the epitome of Livy CXXXV, that the same Crassus conducted another Thracian campaign somewhat later. The reference to Thrace and the Medes together is similar to that in III. 8, which ode is assigned to B.C. 28 or 24. See on II. 9.

6. **Medi**, 'the Parthians,' as in I. 2. 51. They pray for peace while they are equipped for war.

7. **purpura** seems to be the consular purple, the *toga praetexta*. The word *venale* does not imply purchase or exchange, but means only 'procurable.' Cf. *morte venalem laurum* in III. 14. 2.

venale. For the division of the word cf. I. 2. 20 and 25. 11.

10. **summovet**, the technical word for the action of lictors, who 'shouldered' the crowd from the path of the magistrate.

tumultus, 'disquiet,' properly used of an angry crowd. **miseros** because they make the mind wretched.

11. **laqueata tecta**, 'coffered ceilings,' the *aureum lacunar* of II. 18. 1.

13. **vivitur**, impersonal. The expression *vivere parvo* 'to live on little' is used in *Sat.* II. 2. 1.

cui, i.e. *ab eo cui*.

paternum. The word is important. The silver salt-cellar, inherited, bespeaks its possessor a man of gentle breeding, who has never known the sordid cares of making his living.

14. **tenui**, 'frugal,' opposed to *grandis* in I. 6. 9.

15. **levis**, 'easily-wooded' like *facilem somnum* in II. 11. 8.

cupido is always masc. in Horace, cf. III. 16. 39.

17. **iaculamur**, 'shoot at,' 'aim at.' **aevo**, 'lifetime' as in II. 2. 5.

19. **mutamus**, sc. *patria*. 'Why do we change our home for lands warmed by another sun?' *mutare* here means 'take in exchange,' as in I. 17. 2. The opposite sense of *muto* occurs in a passage of Vergil (*Georg.* II. 512) which closely resembles this: *exilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant Atque alio quaerunt patriam sub sole iacentem*. The omission of the abl. is unusual, but is perhaps paralleled by *latentis reparavit oras* in I. 37. 24 where see note. Cf. Greek ἀλλάσσειν and μεταλλάσσειν.

patriae exul. Cf. Ovid *Metam.* IX. 409 *exul mentisque domusque*.

21. **aeratas navis**, cf. *aerea puppis* in *Aeneid* V. 198. The allusion is perhaps to the bronze prow of war-ships but more probably to yachts decorated with bronze plates. The same sentiment, expressed in nearly the same terms, occurs in III. 1. 37-40.

vitiosa, 'blighting,' 'sickly.'

25. **laetus in praesens**, predicative: 'let the mind, when happy for the moment, loathe anxiety for the future.' For *laetus in praesens* cf. Livy XXX. 17 *ingenti hominum et in praesens laetitia et in futurum spe*: and, for the sentiment, *dona praesentis cape laetus horae* etc. in III. 8. 27.

26. **amara temperet**, 'when the cup is bitter, sweeten it with the smile of patience' Wickham (comparing *lente ferre* in Cic. *de Or.* II. 190).

29. **clarum Achillem**, 'Achilles in his glory.' The epithet is important, for Achilles had his choice between glory and long life. See *Iliad* IX. 412-414 (quoted by Wickham).

30. **Tithonum**. Aurora made Tithonus immortal, but could not make him ever-young. He says to her in Tennyson's poem,

'Me only cruel immortality
Consumes: I wither slowly in thine arms,
Here at the quiet limit of the world,
A white-haired shadow' etc.

31. **et mihi forsan** etc. The contrast between Achilles and Tithonus has suggested the further thought that one man's lot has advantages that another's misses. 'Time, as it flies, will perhaps offer to me something that it has refused to you,' just as it has given to you things that it has not given to me.

32. **hora**, 'the moment,' i.e. any moment, the smallest period of time marked by noticeable change. Cf. *puncto mobilis horae* in *Epist.* II. 2. 172.

33. **Siculae**. The epithet belongs to the flocks as well as the herds, for the estates of Grosphus lay in Sicily. (See above the note on the *Dedication*.)

34. **mugiunt**, used by *zeugma* of *greges*, but proper only to *vaccae*.

hinnitum. For the elision cf. IV. 2. 22 and *Introd.* p. xxix.

35. **equa**. Mares were preferred for racing: cf. Verg. *Georg.* I. 59 (*mittit*) *Eliadum palmas Epiros equarum*.

Afro murice. Cf. *Epist.* II. 2. 181 *vestes Gaetulo murice tinctae*. This African purple is said to have been produced from shell-fish obtained on the shores of the island Meninx, or Girba, near the Lesser Syrtis.

bis tinctae. All purples seem to have been twice dyed, *διβαφα*, first, according to Pliny (IX. 135, 136), with the *pelagium*, then with the *bucinum*. Cf. *Epod.* 12. 21 *muricibus Tyriis iteratae vellera lanae*. It is not clear what purple raiment Horace is alluding to. Grosphus is not likely to have worn a purple toga (but see II. 18. 8 n.), but he may have worn a *toga praetexta* either as a former curule magistrate or as holding some provincial office.

38. **spiritum**, 'the dainty melody of the Greek muse.' *spiritus* is a translation of the Greek *πνοή* in the sense 'music of the flute': cf. *quod spiro et placeo* in IV. 3. 24. This quotation seems conclusive against Orelli's view that *spiritus* is a translation of *πνεῦμα*, in the sense of *afflatus*, 'inspiration.' For *tenuis* cf. Cicero's *oratio teres et tenuis*.

camenae is a Latin name for the Muse, but Horace uses it of the Greek muses again in IV. 9. 8. The strange expression *Calabrae Pierides* in IV. 8. 20 is probably not genuine.

39. **Parca non mendax**. Cf. *vosque veraces cecinisse Parcae* (*Carm. Saec.* 25). The idea apparently is that Fate had promised Horace poverty and poesy, and had kept her promise.

malignum, perhaps 'spiteful,' but *malignus* elsewhere (I. 28. 23 and cf. *benignus* in I. 9. 6 and 17. 15) means 'niggardly.' The extreme prominence given to *malignum spernere vulgus* suggests that Grosphus had some cause of complaint against the populace, either in Rome or in Sicily.

Ode XVII.

To Maecenas, when he was in ill-health. He suffered from fever (*perpetua febris* Pliny *N. H.* vii. 51) and sleeplessness. He died B.C. 8, only a few months before Horace.

Scheme. Your dismal complaints take the life out of me, Maecenas. The gods have determined, and I have resolved too, that we shall die together. Why should I live when you are gone? I will follow you, like a loyal comrade, to the grave. Our natal stars agree. Jupiter snatched you from a bed of death: Faunus preserved me from a falling tree. We both of us owe a sacrifice of thanksgiving for our salvation.

Metre. Alcaic.

2. *amicum est* = *placet*. The will of the gods is shown in ll. 16-32: that of Horace in ll. 5-16.

prius, i.e. 'before me.'

4. *grande decus*. Cf. 1. 1. 20 *et praesidium et dulce decus meum*. For *rerum* 'fortunes' cf. II. 3. 15.

5. *partem animae*, cf. *animae dimidium meae* 1. 3. 8.

6. *vis*, i.e. *vis leti* 'swoop of death' as in II. 13. 20.

altera, sc. *pars*, 'the other half': grammatically, in appos. to *ego*, the subject of *moror*.

7. *carus*, sc. *mihi ipsi*. *aeque*, 'as much as before.'

8. *integer*, 'intact.' The English 'entire,' Fr. *entier* are derived from *integer*, which properly means 'untouched,' containing the same root as *tango*.

The sentiment is the same as that of *Epod.* 1. 5 *quid nos, quibus te vita si superstite Iucunda, si contra gravis?*

utramque ruinam, 'the fall of us both,' resuming the metaphor of *columen* in l. 4.

10. *sacramentum*, the military oath, which was an oath of fealty to the commander *in person*, a promise to follow him and to obey him.

ibimus, *ibimus*, not the words of the oath, for each soldier was sworn separately. The plural refers to Horace only: 'I will go wherever you lead, ready to march to death in your company.' There is the same transition from plural to singular in the closely parallel passage, *Epode* 1. 5-19. The theory that *ibimus* means 'you and I will go' involves the absurd assumption that Maecenas was as willing to die with Horace as Horace with Maecenas.

11. *supremum iter*, cf. *tempus ultimum* in II. 7. 1.

13. *igneae*. The epithet properly belongs to *spiritus*, by a hyplage which is the converse of that seen in *iracunda fulmina Iovis* 1. 3. 40. Cf. II. 13. 21. The Chimaera, a three-formed monster (cf. 1. 27. 23 n.) prowled at the entrance to Hades (*Aeneid* vi. 285).

14. *si resurgat*, 'if he were to rise,' for he lay sprawling beneath

the weight of Aetna or some other volcano. *Gyas*, usually called Gyges, was brother to Briareus and Cottus, both of them hundred-handed giants like himself. The legend that he was pinned under Aetna is commonly told of Typhoeus, but Callimachus tells it of Briareus, and evidently the mythology was not distinct on the point.

16. *Iustitiae*. Justice (*Δίκη*), according to Hesiod, was sister of the Fates (*Μοῖραι*). For the position of *-que* cf. I. 30. 6, II. 19. 32, III. 11. 13.

17. *seu Libra* etc. It is evident, from the alternatives suggested, that Horace had not had his horoscope cast and, from I. 11. 2, that he did not much believe in astrology.

The constellation *Libra* exercised a benign influence on those born under it: the *Scorpion* an adverse influence.

aspicit, present tense, because the influence of the planet or constellation (called *ῥοσκόπος*) which presided over a man's birth lasted through life.

18. *pars violentior*, 'more stormy influence in the hour of birth' (Wickham). It is called *pars* because other counteracting influences might exist too.

20. *Capricornus*. Each sign of the Zodiac was supposed especially to influence a certain portion of the earth. Western Europe was assigned to Capricorn. *Tu, Capricorne, regis quicquid sub sole cadente Est positum* etc. (Manilius IV. 784).

22. *astrum*, i.e. the horoscope, the natal star as influenced by its surroundings. Horace asserts that the general effect of his star was precisely the same as the general effect of Maecenas's.

Iovis tutela, 'the protection of Jupiter,' a benign planet. *refulgens* 'shining in opposition to' Saturn, a malign planet.

23. *Saturno* seems to be constructed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (*Introd.* p. xxv) with both *refulgens* and *eripuit*.

25. *populus frequens*, 'what time the crowded people clapped three joyful rounds in the theatre.' Maecenas was once greeted with applause on reappearing in the theatre after a severe illness. See I. 20. 3.

26. *theatris*, plur. for sing. as in II. 1. 10. There was only one theatre in Rome at this time, that built by Pompey in the Campus.

ter crepuit. *ter* is to be taken literally. For *crepuit* cf. *manibus faustos ter crepuere sonos* Propertius III. 10. 4.

27. *truncus illapsus cerebro*. See II. 13, III. 4. 27, III. 8. 8. Horace seems to have been struck by the tree, but lightly.

28. *sustulerat*, 'had made an end of me.' The indic. for subj. by what Roby calls 'wilful exaggeration' (*Lat. Gr.* § 1574. 4), cf. III. 16. 3, 7 *munierant si non risissent*: and Vergil's (*Georg.* II. 132) *et si non alium late iactaret odorem Laurus erat*.

Faunus. Perhaps the god himself is meant, for no constellation or

star was ever called Faunus. But in III. 8. 7 Horace attributes his escape to Bacchus. In I. 17 Faunus, whose protection Horace claims, is identified with Pan, and the constellation of Capricorn was called Pan by the great astronomer Eratosthenes. Pan was the son of Mercury.

29. *levasset* = *leviorem fecisset*.

Mercurialium virorum. This allusion is also obscure. There was a guild of merchants in Rome who called themselves *Mercuriales*, Mercury being the god of traffic. But Mercury, as the inventor of the lyre (I. 10. 6), might be claimed as the protector of lyric poets (cf. II. 7. 13).

30. *reddere*, 'to pay duly' as in II. 7. 17.

32. *humilem agnam*. For the contrast between the two offerings cf. IV. 2. 53, 54.

Ode XVIII.

To an unnamed person of magnificent tastes, perhaps L. Licinius Varro Murena (II. 10), as Dr Verrall suggests.

Scheme. There is no splendour in my house, but the gods have given me honesty and poesy and modest comfort, and I ask for no more. But you,—with one foot in the grave, you are building yourself a lordly mansion, robbing the sea for it, aye, and robbing the poor too. Remember that the hall of death awaits you, as it awaits us all. (Cf. II. 14 and 16.)

Metre. The *Hipponactean* stanza, used by Horace in this ode only. It is said to have been a favourite metre with Alcaeus. It is scanned as follows:

1. 3. — — — — — = (*trochaic dimeter catalectic*).

2. 4. — — — — —, — — — — — = (*iambic trimeter catalectic*).

1. *ebur*, inlaid in the furniture or in the ceiling.

2. *lacunar*, 'panelled ceiling,' called *laqueare* in *Aen.* I. 726.

3. *trabes Hymettiae*, architraves of white Hymettian marble, resting on columns of yellow Numidian marble (*giallo antico*).

5. *Attali regiam*, 'nor have I suddenly, as an unknown heir, taken possession of the palace of an Attalus.' Attalus III, king of Pergamus, bequeathed his possessions to the Roman republic in B.C. 133. His palace was renowned for its library and works of art, to which especially Horace here alludes. Cf. I. 1. 12.

Dr Verrall points out that Murena (II. 10), who had lost all his property in the civil wars, soon afterwards became immensely rich, and had probably in the meantime inherited the wealth of his adoptive father Varro.

7. *Laconicas purpuras*. The *murex* or purple-mussel was found on the Laconian coast, especially at Gythion.

8. *trahunt*, 'spin.' *honestae*, probably 'well-born,' the dignity of the patron being enhanced by the respectability of his clients.

The *purpuræ* seem to have been purple togas. It is clear that such things were worn, for Augustus as early as B.C. 36 (Dion Cassius XLIX. 16) issued a decree that none but magistrates and senators should wear them. It is possible, however, that the *purpuræ* are only the fringe of the *toga prætexta*, worn by all curule magistrates.

9. *fides*, 'honesty.'

10. *benigna vena*, 'an abundant vein.' *dives vena* is used in the same connexion in *Ars Poet.* 409. *vena* generally means a vein of ore in a mine, but Ovid uses it (also in connexion with *ingenium*) of a spring or runlet.

est = *adest mihi*.

12. *potentem amicum*, Maecenas.

14. *unicis Sabinis*, 'with only my Sabine estate.' *Sabinis* is masculine, the name of the inhabitants being used for the estate. The idiom is not uncommon. Kießling (after Lachmann and Haupt) quotes *Tusci grandine excussi* from Pliny *Epist.* IV. 6: and *Paelignos videor celebrare salubres* from Ovid *Am.* II. 16. 37.

15, 16. These lines explain *sub ipsum funus* of l. 18, which is the keynote of the rest of the ode. 'Time is hurrying on and you, unmindful of the nearness of death, are intent on your building and land-grabbing.'

15. *truditur dies die*. Cf. *Epod.* 17. 25 *urget diem nox et dies noctem*.

17. *secanda locas*, 'you place contracts for cutting marble into slabs.' The person who took the contract was called *redemptor* (III. 1. 35). The slabs were used for pavements and as lining for walls.

18. *sub ipsum funus*. *sub* = 'just before,' of time: as in *sub noctem*.

20. *urges*, 'you press on the work of advancing the shore.' *summovere* generally means 'to shoulder out of the way' (as in II. 16. 10), but here the sea is pushed away, so that *summovere litora* = *promovere litora*, 'to push forward the shore.' Villas were frequently built half in the sea, so that the owner might fish out of window. Cf. III. 1. 33 and III. 24. 4.

22. *parum locuples*, 'not rich enough in land so long as the beach confines you.' *continente ripa* is abl. abs. Other edd. seem to take *ripa* as dependent on *locuples* and *continens* as relating to the sea: 'not rich enough with the confining beach' or 'the beach of the mainland': but in these versions *continente* adds little to the meaning of *ripa* ('sea shore' as in III. 27. 24). *continente* might mean 'adjoining,' as in the Monumentum Ancyranum where Augustus declares that he had built *curiam et continens ei chalcidicum*.

23. *quid quod*. 'Nay, worse!' Wickham.

proximos agri terminos, 'your neighbour's land-marks.' The *terminus* was a square stone set as a boundary-mark. To remove it

was an impiety for which the perpetrator was, by ancient law, accursed, *sacer*. In the present case, the impiety was all the worse because those who were robbed were *clientes* of the robber, persons entitled to his protection.

26. *pellitur...ferens*. For the sing. cf. I. 3. 3. It would seem that here we are to imagine the wife as carrying the gods and the husband the ragged children.

29—32. *nulla certior...quid ultra tendis*. In this notorious passage, the construction of *destinata* is disputed, but it is not important to the general sense. That sense is commonly taken to be: 'No hall awaits the rich lord more certainly than Death (awaits him).' But this certainly gives little or no point (1) to *rapacis*, a strange word in connexion with *fine*: (2) to the emphatic *erum*: (3) to the continuation *quid ultra tendis*? where *ultra* doubtless means *ultra finem Orci*.

The text is probably corrupt, though the MSS. are unanimous and it is difficult to see where an emendation could be introduced.

29. *nulla certior*, in effect, *non certior*, as Bentley says, quoting Servius on Verg. *Georg.* I. 125 *ante Iovem nulli subigebant arva coloni*.

30. *rapacis Orci*. Orcus is a person, as always in Horace. Cf. I. 34 below and II. 3. 24.

fine. The 'limit' of Orcus is a boundary, but also a *stoppage*, and this is the usual meaning of *θανάτου τέλος* or *θανάτοιο τελευτή* in Greek.

destinata is probably abl. agreeing with *fine*, though *finis* is usually masc. in Horace (fem. only in *Epod.* 17. 36). Bentley took it as nom. agreeing with *aula*, but it is unlikely that Horace permitted a short vowel to precede *aula* in the next line.

Orelli, Wickham and Kiessling take *destinata* as abl. agreeing with *aulâ* understood. Wickham translates: 'And yet no mansion more certainly awaits the wealthy master *than that one traced out* for him by the limit of Orcus greedy as himself': but it is highly improbable that Horace placed *destinata* between *fine* and *aula* without intending it to agree with either. Nauck and Page take *fine destinata* together ('the appointed end'), with a slight improvement to the sense. The general objections to this sense have been stated above, but it should be said that Servius (see critical note) obviously understood the passage in this way.

32. *erum*, 'owner,' 'proprietor': cf. *propriae telluris erus* in *Sat.* II. 2. 129.

ultra. Why do you try to pass the stoppage? It is unavoidable. Cf. II. 11. 11, 12 *quid aeternis minorem Consiliis animum fatigas*?

aequa, predicative: 'impartially' as in I. 4. 13 *aequo pede*.

34. *regum*, 'rich men,' 'princes': as in II. 14. 11.

satelles Orci, Charon, as *revexit* shows. The allusion seems to be to a tale that Prometheus had tried to bribe Charon.

The tale is not found in any ancient writer, and it is possible that Horace learnt it from a book by Maecenas called 'Prometheus.' The same thought is present in *Epist.* II. 2. 178 *quid vici prosunt aut horrea? quidve Calabris Saltibus adiecti Lucani, si metit Orcus Grandia cum parvis non exorabilis auro?*

36. *hic*, i.e. Orcus.

37. *Tantali genus*, Pelops. (Cf. II. 13. 37.) The family of Tantalus furnished, to Greek tragedians, a favourite example of ὕβρις, i.e. the insolence engendered by wealth and power. Hence *superbum Tantalum* in 36, and *coercet* 'curbs,' 'tames': as in *Sat.* I. 3. 134 *fuste coeaces*.

38. *levare functum* etc. For the complicated constr. ἀπὸ κοινοῦ cf. *Introd.* p. xxv.

40. *vocatus atque non vocatus*, imitated from Greek, e.g. Thucyd. I. 118 where Apollo promises to assist the Athenians καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἀκλήτος. *audit* with *non vocatus* is an oxymoron, bringing out the watchfulness of Orcus.

Ode XIX.

Scheme. I have seen Bacchus teaching the nymphs and Satyrs. My heart still throbs with an excitement that is almost more than I can bear. The god inspires me and I can sing of his miracles, his exploits in war, his power over the satellites of death.

The ode is, to some degree, imitated from a Greek dithyramb, a hysterical song in praise of Bacchus. (Cf. III. 25 and the latter half of I. 18.) The details of the miracles performed by Bacchus seem to be taken from the *Bacchae* of Euripides.

Metre. Alcaic.

1. *remotis*, 'secluded,' like *separatis* in l. 18.

rupibus, 'a gorge,' valley shut in by precipitous cliffs.

2. *vidi*, 'I have just seen.'² A picture of Bacchus teaching the nymphs and satyrs has been found on an ancient vase.

credite posteri, cf. *posteri negabitis* in *Epod.* 9. 11.

4. *capripedum*, 'goat-foot' (used by Tennyson). Roman poets confused the Satyrs with the Pans and the Fauni, to whom the goat's feet properly belonged. Satyrs are represented in Greek art as of human shape, though they have little horns, sharp-pointed ears and short tails.

acutas, 'pricked-up,' so that the points became conspicuous.

5. *euhoë*, in Greek εὐοή, the cry of the Bacchanals. Cf. I. 18. 9. Horace could not see the god without catching something of the Bacchic frenzy.

6. *pleno Bacchi pectore*, abl. abs. Cf. III. 25. *1 quo me, Bacche, rapis tui Plenum?* The same metaphor is seen in the Greek ἐνθεος

(whence 'enthusiasm') and our 'possessed,' applied to a violent mad-man.

turbidum, 'tumultuously.' For the adverb cf. *lucidum fulgentes* in II. 12. 14.

7. **parce Liber**. The excitement, at first strange and terrifying, afterwards pleasurable (hence *laetatur*), grows painful as it reaches its height, and Horace fears lest a stroke of the thyrsus should make him downright mad.

9. **fas est mihi**. 'Now I may sing of the untiring Thyiades.' The point seems to be that the poet now understands the power of Bacchus and is prepared for his worship. It is to be observed, however, that the worship of Bacchus was, in Greece, closely associated with the worship of Apollo, the god of poetry. Their influence was regarded as almost the same. Together they occupied the peaks of Parnassus; and on the great temple at Delphi Apollo and the Muses were sculptured on the Eastern gable, Bacchus and the Thyiades on the Western.

Thyiadas, 'Bacchantes,' women who followed in the train of Bacchus. They are called *pervicaces* ('untiring,' Wickham) because they roamed about Parnassus day and night.

10. **vinique fontem** etc. The allusion is to miracles performed by Bacchus at his first coming into Greece. They are mentioned more than once in Euripides' *Bacchae* (e.g. 141 and 703-710), which is a tragedy showing how Bacchus punished Pentheus, king of Thebes, for rejecting his worship.

12. **iterare**, 'to relate.' Cf. the English 'rehearse,' which properly means 'to harrow again.'

13. **coniugis**, Ariadne, the Cretan maiden whom Bacchus found in Naxos, where Theseus had deserted her.

14. **honorem**, the bridal crown, supposed to be turned into a constellation. For the expression cf. *Aeneid* VII. 814 *regius ostro Velet honos umeros*, and for the constellation *Georgic* I. 222 *Gnosiaque ardentis stella coronae*.

Penthei tecta. Pentheus tried to imprison Bacchus, but his palace was overthrown by an earthquake (Euripides, *Bacchae* 586 and 632).

15. **non leni**, 'pitiless,' a meiosis or litotes: cf. *non levis* in I. 18. 9.

16. **Lycurgi**. The story is that Lycurgus, king of Thrace, denied the divinity of Bacchus and tried to drive him out of his realm. Bacchus thereupon smote Lycurgus with frenzy, so that he murdered his wife and son, and afterwards, wandering forth to Mount Rhodope, was slain by panthers.

17. **tu flectis amnes**. The reference is to the expedition of Bacchus into India, when the Orontes and Hydaspes changed their courses, that he might cross them.

mare barbarum, i.e. *mare rubrum*, the Indian Ocean. *flectis* is

applied literally to the river, but metaphorically to the sea. 'Thou bendest to thy sway.'

18. **uvidus**, 'steeped in wine': cf. I. 7. 22 and I. 18. 3.

19. **nodo viperino**, 'a knot of snakes.' The Maenads in Euripides (*Bacchae* 104 and 696) wear live snakes in their hair and about their waists. For snakes in connexion with Bacchus cf. I. 18. 11 n.

20. **Bistonidum crinis**. The Bistonides are the women of the tribe of Bistones, a Thracian people who were enthusiastic in the worship of Bacchus. Cf. I. 36. 14 and II. 7. 27 for allusions to Thracian orgies.

sine fraude, 'without hurt' to the women. Cf. *Carm. Saec.* 41.

22. **Gigantum**. Cf. II. 12. 7 and 9, and III. 4. 49-63.

23. **Rhoetum**. The giant slain by Bacchus is elsewhere called Eurytus, whereas Rhoetus was a Centaur who fought with the Lapithae (Verg. *Georg.* II. 456). Horace however names Rhoetus among the giants again in III. 4. 55. The legend that Bacchus changed himself into a lion is not found elsewhere.

25. **quamquam**, 'and yet,' Gr. *καίτοι*.

27. **idem**. 'Thou wast the same in the midst of peace and of war.' For the position of *-que* cf. I. 32 and I. 30. 6: also *curatve* in II. 7. 25. The meaning apparently is that Bacchus was always the leader, whether of the dance or the combat.

It is to be observed that, as wine makes some men quarrelsome, others merry, the worship of Bacchus was introduced into Greece in two forms, a savage and brutal form which came by way of Thrace, and a mild and cheerful form which came from the South. Both forms existed together in Attica. The legends concerning the god, similarly, represent him now as kind and beneficent, now as cruel and blood-thirsty. The late Mr Pater, writing on the *Bacchae* of Euripides, says "Dionysus Omophagus, the eater of raw flesh, must be added to the golden image of Dionysus Melichius, the honey-sweet," if we are to form a clear idea of the place of the god in Greek religion. See also L. Dyer's *The Gods in Greece*, pp. 75-117.

29. **te vidit**, sc. *aggredientem*, as *recedentis* in 31 implies. Bacchus went down to Hades to fetch his mother Semele, whom he afterwards immortalised under the name Thyone.

insons = *sine fraude*: 'without harming you.'

aureo cornu decorum. Bacchus carried to Hades a golden drinking-horn, from which he poured out wine for Cerberus. The scene is depicted in several ancient works of art.

30. **atterens**, probably 'wagging,' not 'rubbing his tail against you.'

31. **trilingui ore**, 'the tongues of his three mouths,' cf. III. 11. 20 n.

Ode XX.

To Maecenas.

Scheme. I shall soar away on majestic pinions, Maecenas. Humble as I am, I shall not die. I feel myself changing into a bird and I shall fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, that all peoples may know me. When I am gone, let there be no idle tears or dirges or tomb for me.

The ode is an epilogue to the Second Book, expressing, by an allegory, the poet's conviction that his writings had won him immortality. He will disappear, he says, but he will not die.

Metre. Alcaic.

1. **non usitata**, 'not usual,' because Horace was *princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos Deduxisse modos* (III. 30. 13, 14).

2. **biformis vates**, 'a bard transformed.' Horace like Pindar (cf. IV. 2. 25) is a man who, by poesy, can become a swan. He will not die: he will assume his swan-form and soar away into the heavens. The metaphor, by which a poet is called a swan or an eagle or any other kind of bird, is treated as a matter of fact and becomes an allegory: just as in I. 14 the metaphor of 'the ship of state' is treated as matter of fact.

4. **invidia maior**, 'triumphant over envy.'

5. **pauperum sanguis parentum**. This explains *invidia maior*. In *Sat.* I. 6. 46 Horace speaks of himself as one *quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum Nunc quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor, at olim Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno*. The envious carped at Horace because, though of most ignoble birth, he was admitted to the inmost circle of Maecenas' friends.

6. **quem vocas**, 'who (they say) am at your beck and call.' The envious twit Horace with his mean birth, and also with his frequent invitations to Maecenas's table, as if he were a mere parasite. For *voco* in this sense cf. III. 6. 30, and see Lewis and Short, *voco* B. I. and *vocatio*. The favourite explanation of this passage takes *dilecte* with *vocas*: 'I, whom you call *dilecte*.' But this, even if it were Latin, would not be good sense. Some term of *reproach*, similar to *pauperum sanguis parentum*, is absolutely required, to account for the repetition of *non ego*.

H. T. Plüss, an ingenious Swiss scholar, has a theory that Horace imagines his body to be lying dead and Maecenas to be calling him for the last time, as was usual at Roman funerals. But this explanation is open to the same objection as the last and is also effectually contradicted by the words *non obibo*.

7. **dilecte**. There is a special point in the epithet, as showing both that the charge of parasitism was a calumny and that Horace could endure it out of his love for Maecenas.

9. **iam iam**. Horace feels the metamorphosis beginning.

residunt. 'The skin is shrinking into rough scales on my legs.'

His legs dwindle to the size of a bird's, and the skin settles down and becomes scaly.

13. **Daedaleo Icaro.** Icarus, son of Daedalus, was furnished by his father with wings, which were fastened to his shoulders with wax. Unfortunately, he soared too near the sun, which melted the wax, so that he fell into the sea called, after him, Icarian. Cf. IV. 2. 2-4.

On the reading see critical note.

15. **canorus ales.** Swans were thought, by the ancients, to sing sweetly, especially before their death. Cf. IV. 3. 19. Tennyson has a poem on the subject and a pretty allusion (in *Morte d'Arthur*) to

‘some full-breasted swan
That, fluting a wild carol ere her death,
Ruffles her pure cold plume and takes the flood
With swarthy webs.’

17—20. The peoples selected are those which were most in the thoughts of Romans at this time. See the notes to II. 9 and other passages of this book.

19. **peritus** gives point to the distinction between *noscent* and *discet*. The barbarians shall hear my name: the civilised Spaniard and Gaul shall learn me by heart. Some of the best writers of the 1st century after Christ were born in Spain: e.g. both Senecas, Lucan, Quintilian and Martial; and Lyons (Lugdunum) on the Rhone became a famous nursery of orators.

Some editors take *peritus* proleptically; ‘the Spaniard shall study me when he becomes learned,’ or ‘shall study me so as to become learned.’

20. **Rhodani potor.** Cf. III. 10. 1 *extremum Tanain si biberes, Lyce*, and IV. 15. 21.

21. **inani funere.** *funus* is properly the burning of the corpse: *inane funus* appears to mean the same thing as *funus imaginarium*, a funeral fire without a corpse, corresponding to our phrase ‘an empty bier,’ or ‘a cenotaph.’ Horace imagines that he has disappeared and that his friends, assuming him to be dead, hold funeral rites for him. Cf. *Aeneid* VI. 505.

neniae, ‘dirges’ sung by the *præficiae*, women hired for the purpose.

22. **turpes**, ‘hideous,’ ‘disfiguring,’ because the mourners wore black and the women tore their hair and scratched their faces.

23. **clamorem** seems to mean ‘clamorous grief’ generally, for the *conclamatio*, or solemn calling on the dead, took place at the bedside.

24. **mitte** = *omitte*, as in I. 38. 3. Horace apparently does not refuse a *funus*, because his friends would regard this as a solemn duty, but he objects to the idle and expensive formalities of mourning and burial.

CONSPECTUS METRORUM.

I. Metrum quod fertur Hipponactēum :

— ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ≍ dimeter trochaicus catalect.

∪ — ∪ — ∪, — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ trimet. iamb. catalec-
c. II 18. ticus.

II. Asclepiadēum quartum :

— — — ∪ ∪ —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ≍ v. Asclepiadēus minor.

— — — ∪ ∪ —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ≍ ”

— — — ∪ ∪ —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ≍ ”

— — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ≍ v. Glyconēus.

II 12.

III. Sapphicum minus :

— ∪ — — —, ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ versus Sapphicus minor
hendecasyllabus.

— ∪ — — —, ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ” ”

— ∪ — — —, ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ” ”

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ v. Adonius.

II 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 16.

IV. Alcaicum metrum :

∪ — ∪ — —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ≍ v. Alcaicus hendeca-
syllabus.

∪ — ∪ — —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ≍ ” ”

∪ — ∪ — — — ∪ — ∪ v. Alcaicus enneasyllabus.

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ v. Alcaicus decasyllabus.

II 1. 3. 5. 7. 9. 11. 13. 14. 15. 17. 19. 20.

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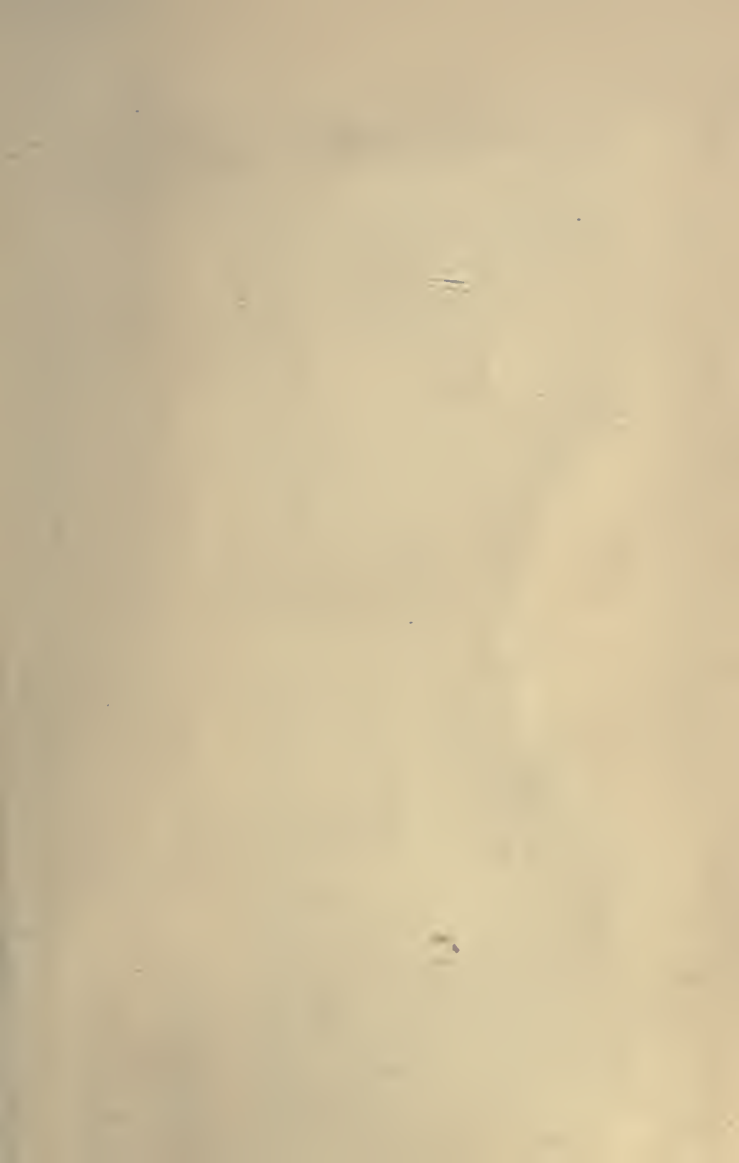
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